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A N

Impartial Examination

OF THE

C O N D U C T

OF THE

WHIGS AND TORIES,

FROM THE

R E V O L U T I O N

down to the

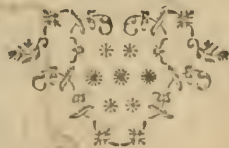
P R E S E N T T I M E S.

Together with CONSIDERATIONS upon the  
*State of the Present Political Disputes.*

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— uni æquus virtuti atque ejus amicis. HOR.

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L O N D O N :

Printed for J. WALKER, at the Bible in St. Paul's Church-Yard.

MDCCCLXIII.

## P O S T U L A T U M.

**B**EFORE the Reader can be properly qualified for the perusal of the following Tract, he must, ipso facto, renounce the damnable doctrines and positions of Party, being ready to praise a virtuous action, tho' the only one found in the conduct of a tyrant; and, on the contrary, must be ready to exclude a vicious one, altho' but once found, in the conduct of an honest man, from the catalogue of his virtues, and can truly say,

“ Sworn to no master, of no sect am I.”

provided the sense and meaning of the above shall be confined to parties only.



A N

# IMPARTIAL EXAMINATION OF THE CONDUCT OF THE WHIGS AND TORIES.



URING the present political heats and unhappy divisions amongst us, were there any one, who, by developing the truth, and by opening the eyes of the public, with respect to the transactions of both the contending parties, would contribute in some degree to re-establish union and harmony in the nation; the service he would thereby perform to his country, would be sufficient to recommend him to the esteem of every true lover of it. How far I may be able to do so can only be known from the event: but this I will venture to say, that it shall be my constant endeavour to state every transaction in the most impartial light, without the least respect of persons.—Declarations of this kind, I know, are generally made by the most impudent supporters of party and fomentors of sedition; but, if the reader expects that I shall prove, in the sequel, as arrant a partisan as any of them, he will certainly find himself disappointed.

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As truth can only be deduced from facts, I shall therefore ground all my reasoning upon them, and consequently will accuse or justify the parties concerned as far only as their actions will permit me to do either. If I make good my promise in this respect, every one must acknowledge the method I propose to pursue to be the only safe one to form a right judgment of things.

In order to give the world a just representation of the subject I am going to handle, it will be necessary to examine the pretensions of both parties, to the favour of their prince, and to the esteem of their country; which we cannot better do than by enquiring into the conduct of either at different periods from the revolution, but chiefly from the reign of queen Anne, down to the present time. It will be necessary to look so far back as that era; for we shall find that, ever since the present royal family came to the throne, the management of public affairs was, in a manner, monopolized by those who commonly went by the name of Whigs. The Tories, or the opposite faction, were all this while, during the reigns of two succeeding kings, deemed unworthy the favour of the court, and were accused by their rivals of disaffection to the present royal family. How far they were guilty of this charge shall be examined in the sequel.

The last time we meet with the Tory faction in favour at court, was during the last four years of queen Anne's reign, when they found means to dislodge the Whigs; which, however, they paid very dear for afterwards. We find the appellations of Whigs and Tories given to two opposite factions at court, when the Stuart family was upon the throne; which, without all doubt, was intended to distinguish those who had been concerned in the rebellion from the loyal party. The Tories were  
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the constant favourites of the court at that time, because it was their principles only that could be depended upon as the friends of monarchy. Indeed, when king James granted toleration for the free exercise of every religion, and, in a manner, cancelled all distinctions, by introducing Papists and Presbyterians into places of trust, the Whigs might be said to be, in some measure, reinstated at court; where they had not been much countenanced since the restoration. But matters did not continue long upon this footing, for the revolution quickly introduced a new scene at court.

The Whigs were deemed the party principally concerned in this measure, although I do not know for what reason; for, in my humble opinion, it should be considered rather an act of the whole nation, for as much as all parties were equally alarmed, having clearly discovered that the design of king James was nothing less than the introduction and establishment of popery. The republican and loyal party had both their share in this transaction; but those few adherents to the interest of king James, which remained scattered here and there in the nation, were the only persons which were now distinguished by the names of Tories and Non-jurors. The Whigs, or those who had been assisting at the revolution, were naturally the favourites of the court during the reign of king William.

The same interest held its ground, likewise, during a great part, or, rather, during the whole of queen Anne's reign; for the Tories, properly so called, never came into favour at court; but only this appellation was transferred to a part of the Whigs with a view to render them odious, and to make the nation believe that their principles were no better than those of Papists and Non-jurors.



As the queen was to be supported upon the throne entirely upon the revolution-principles, it cannot be imagined that she should chuse at any time to confide in those, who preached up the doctrines of divine right and passive obedience; for those who could believe such ridiculous nonsense as this, could never be faithful to any but the next heir to the crown; and that there were some who were so much lost to reason and common sense as to hold these doctrines, may be collected from the conduct of the bishops and some of the clergy, who, at that time, chose to resign their bishoprics and benefices rather than swear allegiance to king William; but, if they did so from a principle of conscience, and not from affectation, their honesty, without doubt, is to be commended, while their ignorance is to be pitied: and there is the less room for suspicion in this matter, as they could not be influenced in their conduct by any secular views: but their number was extremely small who could not divest themselves of these prejudices; and, consequently, the number of Tories, properly so called, was extremely small in proportion.

But, with respect to the Papists that were then in the kingdom, whose interest alone it was to have a prince of that religion upon the throne, they were, comparatively speaking, so few as hardly to deserve our notice; and every body else was too apprehensive of the consequences to desire to see one placed there: so that the queen and her Protestant successors might have thought themselves very safe, had it not been for the clamour of party; for many there are who are base enough to practice artifices of this kind, the better to engross all places of profit in a few hands, and to keep others at a distance.

The Whigs therefore, who must have composed the chief, and nearly the whole, body of the nation at this time, as there had been a sort of coalition of parties at the revolution, continued in reputation at court, under that appellation, until they were supplanted by their own friends, to whom the name of Tories was given by the rival faction. The eagerness of some people to make their fortunes, and to wriggle themselves into power, will not suffer them to stick at any thing which may contribute to secure their ends. This was actually the case at that time.

Every body knows, that the disposition of the House of Commons is always understood from the cast and complexion of the speaker they chuse; and every body must have heard that the House of Commons was entirely at the devotion of the duke of Marlborough, while he was at the head of the confederate army. What conclusion therefore can any man draw from these premises, but, that Mr. Harley, afterwards earl of Oxford, who was chosen speaker to three succeeding parliaments during that period, was a creature of the duke of Marlborough's? This reasoning is so fair, that I do not imagine any one will dispute the justness of the inference: for how is it consistent with any degree of probability, that the Whig party, which was so powerful at court, should suffer a person of opposite principles to mingle with them? His education, and every other circumstance which can any way illustrate this matter, conspire uniformly to render this credible; that he was a Whig I mean; and, consequently, a very improper person to be employed to favour the interest of a Popish prince. He was likewise a secretary of state for some time; which, every one that knows how much influence the duchess of Marlborough had with the queen, will readily believe could not have taken place without



without her approbation : or rather, that, as every department was filled by creatures in her interest, it was more than probable, that his advancement was owing to the same cause.

But, with respect to the intrigue formed between the secretary and Mrs. Masham, which afterwards threw the whole court into convulsions, and had considerable effect upon the affairs of Europe, it must have commenced some time after his advancement to that station. To form such an intrigue before he had fully obtained the queen's ear, and constant access to her presence, would have been of no service as touching the part he was to have acted therein; and Mrs. Masham would never have chose him for her colleague in this affair, had it not been for the suitableness of his station, as well as the suitableness of his disposition to compass her designs.

If we consider the conduct of mankind in general, when they are within reach of power, how ready they are to put themselves in possession of it, though it be at the expence of whatever is dear to them, excepting life only, and sometimes at the manifest hazard of that too, we cannot greatly wonder at any man's ingratitude, especially when the temptation is so powerful as it was upon this occasion. Whatever room there may be to accuse Mr. Harley in this matter, there is undoubtedly a great deal to accuse Mrs. Masham; for did ever any man hear of a misunderstanding between the queen and her former favourite, the dutchess of Marlborough, before she had quitted her attendance upon the queen's person, and had recommended her relation to fill that office? Indeed, if there had been any such misunderstanding, there is very little probability, that the queen would have chose a near relation of the dutchess for her confidant, and that too, as  
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every body knew, upon the dutchess's own recommendation. But when this lady had once secured her station near the queen's person, the opportunity, of which she became thereby possessed, to engross all her mistress's favours to herself, was a temptation too powerful to be resisted. But this could not be done, so long as she retained any affection for her former favourite. For if the dutchess of Marlborough was still to influence the queen's measures, and to move the whole machine of government, as she had been used to do, the consequence would be, that her interest must have been chiefly and ultimately consulted in every thing : and Mrs. Masham, if matters were to continue so, could have no prospect of making her fortune by the same ways and means as her former benefactress, the dutchess, had already done.

Therefore to alienate the queen's affection from the dutchess was necessary, and this perhaps was no great difficulty, as her conduct towards the queen furnished very good materials for that purpose. It is but too common for those who are raised to power and wealth by means of their prince's favour, to forget they are subjects, and to behave themselves towards their benefactors with less respect, or even decency, than is due from all mankind to one another. They think likewise, if they have been long in places of trust under the government, that it is impossible for their prince to manage the affairs of state without the help of their services. This seldom fails to make them insolent and over-bearing ; and this, it seems, was really the case at that time ; for the dutchess was accused of behaving very indecently towards the queen, and she was never cleared of this charge, but on the contrary there are too many circumstances which favour the truth of it. But what-  
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ever her conduct was, and how liable soever to objection, we may easily imagine, that every thing which had the least appearance of disrespect in her behaviour towards the queen, was inflamed by the suggestions of Mrs. Masham, into the most flagrant insolence. But to enter into a particular detail of this matter, would be inconsistent with the brevity which I intend to observe; I shall therefore content myself with mentioning only such indubitable facts as are necessary to illustrate my subject, together with such deductions as naturally flow from them.

As the circumstance therefore of the dutchess's being supplanted in the queen's favour, was owing to her receding from her attendance upon the queen's person, whereby she rendered herself incapable of performing the offices and of practising the arts, by which she had acquired such an absolute authority over her fond mistress, and by which alone it was possible to maintain it; so it is not at all improbable, but that, notwithstanding the charge of insolence, whereof she was accused, she might still have retained her place and power, if she had not taken this ungarded step. But now matters being brought to this crisis; when her interest was shaken at court by Mrs. Masham, the person whom she had intended to make her instrument to support it in her absence, it was too late for her to repair her mistake, when she came to discover it. It was at the same time necessary for Mrs. Masham to persevere in her management of the queen, and to omit nothing which might contribute to secure her affections and to alienate them from the dutchess. She had already gone far enough to sacrifice the esteem, and indeed to incur the resentment of her benefactress, and must have been a loser in proportion, as that esteem could be of  
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any advantage to her, by the steps she had taken ; and consequently she must have been left in a worse condition than she was in before, if she did not succeed in establishing her interest with the queen. The dutchess on the other hand, being naturally of a warm temper, thought herself extremely ill used, when she found that another was allowed to share in those affections, which she had ever been used to engross entirely to herself, knowing very well, that two favourites could not consistently reign in the same heart, as one must naturally be superior ; and therefore she expostulated with the queen with more severity than became her, which served only to make the breach wider, and to furnish more materials for her rival to work with. Thus the situation of either lady became desperate ; for, as Mrs. Masham must have been undone on the one hand, if she did not succeed in her designs, so must the dutchess and her party, who must stand or fall with her, be totally supplanted and ruined on the other, if a reconciliation with the queen could not be effected. This a person of her impetuous disposition was but ill qualified to accomplish ; and any advances towards it would probably have been rendered fruitless by the joint operations of her rival and Mr. Harley, whose designs were now become public and open, after having been carried on in secret for sometime.

We may look upon the event of this contest as the sole hinge, upon which not only the success of either party at court must turn, but also as an alternative, by which the affairs of Europe, must be greatly influenced. The matter in dispute between the leading members of both parties was not what measures should be pursued for the real benefit of the nation, and for the common good of mankind, but whose private fortune should be



made at the expence of the public. The time of war is the time of plunder, and the immense wealth acquired by the ruling interest at that period, and by the duke of Marlborough in particular, is a melancholy proof, how much a nation may be imposed upon. Mrs. Masham, Mr. Harley, Mr. St. John, afterwards lord viscount Bolingbroke, together with several more, who were no strangers to the methods practised by those in power, thro' whose hands they knew, all the immense sums granted by parliament, must pass, thought it extremely hard, that persons so well qualified to conduct the government, as they looked upon themselves to be, should not succeed to raise themselves by these means, to riches and titles as well as others. This they really did afterwards, by laying hold of this favourable opportunity. But I am of opinion, that, if instead of taking this step, they had gone over to the elector of Hanover, and suggested to him all that their invention could possibly furnish them with, to the disadvantage of the ministry then in power, they might have equally accomplished their ends. For they might easily have assured themselves, that whoever was in power, at the demise of the queen, it would have been a very easy matter for their rivals at court, to possess the elector to their disadvantage by false insinuations, and bold assertions. Nothing was easier than to say, that they had been tampered with on purpose to prevail with them to favour the pretender's interest, but that upon their being found inflexible, they were turned out, in order to make way for those that would. Such assertions could not be immediately disapproved, as the truth of what they said could be known only to the queen and themselves. This, it is true, supposes, that they must have been once in power, which, with respect to  
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this new faction, was the case only in part ; yet it is a handle, whereof they must know their adversaries would lay hold, if they were turned out.

But they were to act as best suited their situation : and an opportunity once lost, may be lost for ever. Yet as they were members of parliament, and as such, constituted to guard the liberties of their country, it was no great stretch, to suppose, that they were attentive to the motions of the court, on account of the nature of their station ; and the elector, who was jealous of whatever measures were concerting in England, would have easily been induced to give credit to all they said. If therefore they had suggested to him that there were dangerous intrigues carrying on in the British court, in order to introduce the pretender, and to set aside the succession in that illustrious house, and that religion and liberty were both at stake ; besides which, they might have invented a great many more dark stories, whereby they would easily have furnished themselves with sufficient stock of merit, to last for forty years, and upwards, if husbanded with any tolerable œconomy. But the time of elevation, could not in the nature of the thing commence before the accession of the present royal family. Indeed when we consider the reasons, which are to be put in the other scale, it must be acknowledged that their conduct was more conformable to the rules of common prudence, than if they had ventured to run such a hazard.

In the first place, the queen's life was a matter of great uncertainty ; and whatever disparity of age there might be between her's and that of the principal leaders of this faction, it was by no means impossible, but she might have survived several of them. We must consider likewise, that Mrs.

Masbam, which was their chief agent, in the management of this affair, was not a very likely person to derive any extraordinary advantages from any change or revolution which might happen, if she did not embrace the present opportunity. If Mr. Harley, her relation, and his friends did not think proper to join her in her present designs, she very possibly would have found out others for her purpose. And I think indeed, that we may venture safely to affirm, that a change of ministry would have taken place, in consequence of Mrs. Masbam's advancement, even supposing, that no such persons as Mr. Harley and Mr. St. John, and the rest of that ministry were existing. Her only chance of raising herself to the dignity of a peeress, and of obtaining very considerable largesses from the crown, depended entirely upon the use she made of the opportunity, whereof she was then possessed. The temptation was too powerful to be resisted, especially when she reflected upon the vast wealth, and pompous titles acquired by her relation the dutchess, when she occupied her present station. If the welfare of Europe must have been affected by her conduct, with respect to the change, which she intended to introduce in the ministry, that was no very weighty consideration to deter her from executing her purpose, when put in the scale against a grand equipage and a title. Nor indeed could she be a judge how far her proceedings might contribute to the benefit or disadvantage of nations, for she was to learn that part of her creed from her preceptors, who regarded that circumstance no more than she did. But when matters are duly weighed on both sides of the question, we shall have as much to say for the conduct of the new ministry, and more perhaps than for that of their predecessors. The  
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motives however and principles, upon which both acted, can never be justified, being chiefly, if not altogether, of a private nature.

It is a melancholy reflection to think, that the fate of many kingdoms frequently depends upon the whim and caprice of a single woman. And if we look into history, we shall find nothing more common. Although certainly no man living hath more real esteem for women than I have, yet I cannot agree, that they are proper persons to judge of the propriety of measures to be taken and pursued for the security of the rights and liberties of mankind, for their education doth not qualify them for such knowledge, even though their understanding was naturally superior to that of the men. Yet most nations in Europe, are either covertly or openly governed by women, for most part of their time. If a king rules, it seldom happens but his concubine is his principal agent, and commonly hath the disposal of all places of trust reposed in her. If a queen rules, the matter is much the same, for her chief confidant, who is always at her elbow, and knows to address herself to her blind side, hath of course the same influence over her, as his concubine hath over a king. Thus a queen, instead of consulting the sages of her kingdom, is generally made the dupe of some artful person of her own sex, while a king is governed by his mistress.

Another reason I would farther add, for the new faction to embrace the present opportunity was, the great uncertainty there is in all human affairs. A century or more perhaps, might have passed, without their having it once in their power to raise themselves to the chief government of a kingdom, if they did not close in with the present opportunity. This consideration alone was sufficient to determine persons of less penetration than those  
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of whom we are now speaking, to improve every circumstance that fell in their way to the best advantage : but, when we consider the means they practised to attain their ends, we cannot much admire their gratitude or honesty.

When, as I have already observed, Mr. Harley's designs were discovered, that he acted in concert with Mrs. Masham, in opposition to the duchess of Marlborough, it was in a manner impossible for him, as secretary, to act in concert with the rest of the ministry any longer ; for they must be too jealous of him, having thus deserted their party, to put any farther confidence in him. The consequence was, that he resigned, and, together with his friends, retired from court.

They had left a true and powerful friend behind them, with whom they continued to concert their designs in secret, still conceiving no small hopes that they would be able to accomplish their ends in time. But all this while no man living can pretend to say that they had any thing but their own private interest in view. If they perceived that the kingdom was imposed upon when, the better to augment their fortunes by the plunder of the war, the French king's offers to open a congress were rejected by the ministry, it is impossible, if they had been possessed of common honesty, but they would have endeavoured to open the eyes of the nation sooner ; yet this they did not think proper to do till it might be made argument of to favour their own advancement to power. Who can therefore doubt but, if they had met with such encouragement as they wished for during the time of the former ministry, they would readily have joined in all their measures ? If it be alledged that Mr. Harley, one of the leading members of the new faction, held a considerable place under the

the government at that time, and therefore must have taken these steps from some other motive; I answer, that, in order to explain this mystery, if it is one, we must consider and examine his natural bent and disposition, to see if we can discover any uniformity through every part of his conduct tending to answer some chief purpose. By only observing that his foible was ambition, every difficulty will vanish. While he was secretary, or in any other department, he acted only as a creature to the reigning interest at court, while the duchess of Marlborough governed the queen, and while her party was uppermost; and, though he was of that party, yet he was not supreme, which was what he all along aimed at. To this ambition in Mr. Harley of being in a manner absolute, may justly be imputed the ruin and dissolution of the Tory ministry. His reserve towards his colleague Mr. St. John, was occasioned by a disposition in him to govern the queen, and all her measures, without a rival; which he knew he could not do so long as St. John was secretary. Hence then it appears, that every step taken by Mr. Harley for supplanting the former ministry, was the natural effect of his vanity, and not of that generous principle which ought to actuate every man, the love of his country: and, indeed, there is no one who hath this concern truly at heart, but will endeavour to seek the most prudent methods for that purpose; and to sow sedition in a kingdom is no very likely means to promote the public good. But, when a whole nation is rushing headlong into ruin, if any one, wiser than the rest, perceives the fatal consequences which their misconduct will inevitably bring upon them, he ought certainly to exert himself, in order to open the eyes of the people, and enable them to discover their true interest; and,

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when he hath effectually done so, it is in the highest degree probable that he will find himself immediately seconded by nine parts in ten of them; because it is only a few that can possibly find their account in pursuing measures destructive and prejudicial to the common good. Therefore what he ought to have done, in this case, was, to lay before the public the natural and unavoidable consequences of the measures then pursued; thereby warning the people of the danger they were in, and exciting them to address the throne for a removal of the persons who were guilty of those abuses whereby the nation was aggrieved: and any man hath a natural right to give the public a faithful relation, and a just state, of measures taken by the government, good or bad; provided it be done in a fair manner, without partiality or prejudice, and without inflaming the minds of the people, by throwing out invectives against any individual whatsoever; and then the public will be left at full liberty to judge for themselves how far such measures may be for their benefit or detriment.

But Mr. Harley, instead of pursuing this or any other fair and legal method, with respect to his conduct towards the ministry, whose removal he aimed at, had recourse to the common but unjustifiable means of forming a party and raising a faction in the kingdom: and a faction, properly so called, is what never should exist in a state, because it is supposed to consist only of a certain number of persons, few or many, but still a minority, joined together in compact to carry on designs against the public welfare. But, as every party is willing to be thought the majority, and consequently is sure to give that appellation to its rival, so it is now become a general name for all parties



parties whatsoever; and we can learn no more from this term than, that there was a division in the state; but cannot from thence ascertain which party was the majority, or which the minority, for the reason I have already given. It was by this means, however, (that is, by inflaming the minds of the people, and by forming a party in the state, together with the help of his faithful colleague Mrs. Masham) that he effected his design.

It may be right to observe in this place, that the appellation of Tory, as I have already hinted, could not properly be applied at this time, excepting to Papists and Nonjurors only, both which together could amount, comparatively speaking, but to a very small number: for all who had acted upon the revolution principles, and were friends to the government, as it then stood, had long ago been denominated and distinguished by the appellation of Whigs; and therefore a division that happened between persons professedly of these principles, could, with no sort of propriety, be distinguished by giving the appellation of Tories to one party of them: because, in fact, they were all Whigs, for the reason already specified. The Papists and Non-jurors continued still under their old appellation of Tories, because they were thought to persevere in their loyalty and fidelity to their late sovereign king James, and his issue male; and this must be the only reason why the bulk of those who had adhered to the king in the time of the rebellion should now be distinguished by the name of Whigs; because, until the revolution, they were always distinguished by the appellation of Tories.

But the new faction was accused of having taken the Papists and Non-jurors into their party, and to have assumed their principles; but this charge

is entirely destitute of proof: yet, had they really been joined by the Non-jurors, it is not easy to conceive what end this could have answered; because, upon the score of their principles, they were disabled from holding any places under the government; and entirely cut off from all hopes of lodging themselves in the queen's favour, as their principles would naturally have led them to dethrone her. Or, supposing the Non-jurors were not really disaffected, but were only a set of people who, from a tenderness and scrupulousness of conscience, thought they could not safely swear allegiance to two princes living at the same time, without perjuring themselves, not considering the nature of the oath they had taken, nor knowing that it was to be faithful to that sovereign only so long as he continued to conduct himself according to the laws of the land; for, did it imply any more, we may, by the same rule, suppose that they were bound to submit to the most despotic and arbitrary power: but such a supposition would have been not only inconsistent with reason and common sense, but also with the general notion which mankind have of it: supposing, I say, the Non-jurors were only a set of people of a scrupulous conscience, but of an easy temper, and very well pleased with the princess then on the throne, having at the same time no views nor desire to encourage a revolution in favour of any prince upon earth, yet they were totally disqualified for admission into places of trust under the government; and it would have been impossible for the queen to encourage them openly, without practising the same means, and running into the same excesses, as king James had done; which must inevitably have alarmed the kingdom, or, at least, that part of it which had ever acted upon and supported the revolution

lution principles : but, in reality, the queen was very far from intending so much as to give them the least countenance ; as we may gather from her conduct in her choice of her new ministry, as the leading members of it, on account of their education and otherwise, were of a disposition extremely ill qualified for carrying on a design in favour of a popish prince. This may be said, at least, with regard to Mr. Harley ; but Mr. St. John was not, perhaps, ill qualified to serve any purpose, as he was a man, professedly, of no religion at all. However, to do the queen justice, we have no reason to believe that he ever ventured so far as to make a merit openly before her of this circumstance ; for, had she known it, we can scarce suppose that she would ever have trusted him at all ; men of no principle being always the most dangerous, because they have no foundation to rest upon, nor any fixed point whereby to steer.

Indeed, as it was Mr. Harley's business now to raise discontent against the present ministry, and to form a party in the state, it is by no means improbable but that some among the Nonjurors might join in the common cry, as they knew very well, that they had nothing to expect in the present posture of affairs, whatever might happen in course of time : but that they should do so, could, with no justice, be charged upon the new faction, to whom they could be of no service, with regard to advancing or supporting their interest ; but, on the contrary, it was highly probable, and indeed very evident that they would be of great disservice, as it would furnish materials for the adverse party to accuse them of designs which would have been not only disliked by all those who had acted upon the revolution principles, but also would have been dangerous to the queen herself : for it is



well known, that, when a scheme is once concerted by a party, or a smaller faction, in a state, they are rendered perfectly desperate from that moment, and are likely to omit nothing which may contribute to secure their ends, as a discovery or a miscarriage must terminate in their ruin; for delays in the execution of such designs are extremely dangerous: and we may farther observe, that those, who would oppose the succession in the house of Hanover, by which means alone the Protestant religion could be supported, the principles of a Popish prince being utterly inconsistent with the interest of it, might, by taking one step farther, be induced to dethrone the queen. This is by no means an unnatural conclusion, as, all the while, we only suppose, that known and fixed principles will ever produce correspondent effects: for, if the queen was to be supported on the throne by those who were friends to the revolution, it is natural to imagine, that the principles upon which they acted would lead them to support the succession still in a Protestant line; for the same objection continued against the son, I mean the pretender, which stood against the father, when he found himself under the necessity of absconding and abdicating his throne; and consequently no greater security could be expected from his conduct with respect to the Protestant religion, than from that of the father.

So again we must allow, that the same principles, which led the Papists and Nonjurors to prefer the succession of the pretender to the throne in opposition to the same in a Protestant line, would have excited them to dethrone the queen. It is true, people act sometimes from caprice and whim and not from principle; but, whenever this happens, it is commonly, if not always, the effect of sudden

But, to make short of this matter, I will only say, that suppositions are endless, and ever incapable of proof; but it should be granted, that, where no better evidence can be found, it is always fairest to incline to the side of probability: and the relish which this kingdom had then so lately had of a common-wealth, under the usurper Cromwell, (for I believe it is looked upon to have been a common-wealth at that time) had left no such agreeable impressi<sup>o</sup>n upon the minds of the people, as to suffer them to think of introducing any such innovation quite so soon. But to be brought to suppose any thing but fixing the pretender upon the throne of these kingdoms, is one point gained; and the improbability, or, rather, the impracticability, of that only, is all that I desire to make good.

But lest any one should imagine, that a Popish prince might, under certain regulations by law, sit upon the British throne, consistently with the safety of the Protestant religion, after the manner of some princes in Germany, notwithstanding, that sometimes more than two thirds of their subjects are Protestants, I need only observe, that a parallel cannot be drawn with any propriety between the kingdom of Great Britain, together with her dominions, and a particular province of Germany; for the parallel runs only between that whole empire and Great Britain. And we know, that the Protestant religion hath a right for toleration throughout the empire, by virtue of the treaty of Westphalia. Hence it appears, that not only particular provinces, but also the whole empire, is under that necessity, which the fear of endless wars lays upon them, to tolerate and protect the Protestant religion. But when we consider the natural tendency of the doctrines of the church of Rome,

Rome, and in what manner they will always operate, when they are left at full liberty to produce correspondent effects, we must either suppose, that a Popish prince can never sit upon the throne of England, consistently with the safety of the protestant religion, or that he must be subjected to such constraints by law, as would have left him no power to act as king, and consequently a total change in the constitution must have ensued, and the government must have been thereby reduced into the form of a common-wealth; which, as I before observed, there was no reason to apprehend, especially at that time. And even admitting that some revolutions and changes might have happened, by means of those, who are destitute of all religion, and such as would have been only greedy of advancing their fortunes, by means of those opportunities, which revolutions in a state seldom fail to offer: yet we can hardly doubt but that, when the more thinking part of the kingdom had recollected themselves, they could have jointly exerted themselves to restore the constitution to its ancient form, both in church and state, as they had done before, in the affair of king Charles the Second. However, I should have been sorry, if the wickedness of the times had subjected them to the trial of it.

But, before I proceed, it may not be improper to take notice of this circumstance, that the pretender I mean never so much as dissembled his religion, as far as we can learn; and if he had declared himself converted Protestant at any time, it would have been a piece of prudence, for his adherents to inform the world of it, thereby the better to farther and promote their ends. No advantage therefore could be made of such a supposition as this in his favour. But with respect to the efforts

forts that were afterwards made to bring him in, I shall take notice of that in due time and place, and prove that it was entirely the work of a few designing men, together with a number of ignorant wretches, that would have been equally ready to favour a Turk or a Tartar, attended at the same time with several desperado adventurers, who from the same principles, might have turned pirates. And it may not be amiss to observe farther, that the pretender, while he continued Papist, had no more reason to expect, that he would be supported upon the throne of England, than his father, king James, who, because the whole nation well nigh deserted him, was forced to abdicate it, and to abscond, without being able to contend the matter with the prince of Orange, at least in this kingdom; which is a sufficient proof, how small the number of those was, that would favour a Popish prince, truly, from principle.

In this long deduction of reasoning, I have almost lost sight of the history I was pursuing, namely, that of the change in queen Anne's ministry. With respect to my method and design, I would have the reader to understand, that I do not so much intend to give an account of the means whereby that change was brought about, and effected, the history thereof being tolerably known already, as to state the consequences of it in a fair and impartial light, in order to examine the merit or demerit of either party, and from thence to deduce the claim that each had to the favour of the house of Hanover. For it was according to the part which they had acted before the present royal family came to the throne, that they were to expect their future treatment from it. I shall therefore mention only such circumstances as are necessary to illustrate this matter, and draw such deductions

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therefrom, as naturally flow from the premises; but I have already given so much of this history, as renders it needless to add many more particulars.

Mr. Harley and his party, as I have observed, retired from court, when their designs became publickly known, leaving Mrs. Masham, their patroness, behind them, who was to dispose the queen more and more in their favour. This she did very effectually, partly by pursuing their instructions, and partly by means of her own cunning and dexterity. She knew well enough that she must engross the queen entirely to herself, who it seems must ever be governed by a woman, and totally supplant the interest of her former favourite, before she could possibly accomplish her private ends. The dutchess of Marlborough, now counteracted in all her attempts to recover the queen, daily lost ground; and the indecency of the warmth she expressed on account of the opposition she met with, served only to fix the queen in a determinate resolution to remove this insolent and overgrown favourite, at once, from her person and affections. This naturally ended in the downfall of her party, as they had no longer an advocate, but an enemy, at court.

Mr. Harley and his friends were, all this while, no less diligent on their part. They omitted nothing which might prejudice the public against the ministry, and among many other stories equally false and groundless, gravely suggested, that there was a design formed by them to change the constitution both in church and state. This was the subject of the famous Dr. Sacheverel's sermon, who therein would fain have made the people believe, that they were in "danger and peril from false brethren." This was a bold assertion, and, as appeared



peared at his trial, was more than he or his party could prove. If there really was such a design, I insist upon it, they should have proved it; and, I dare say, they would have done so, if they had any foundation for what they suggested, as it would have been the most effectual means to answer their ends. Every man, who is not blind to all reason, will readily acknowledge that, as on account of their not being able to do so, their reputation must greatly sink in the opinion of all men of thought and candour, who could not but discover, that it was only a malicious arrow levelled against a party: so if matters really were as they would fain make the world believe them to be, they had an excellent opportunity to prove it; which they certainly would not have omitted had it been in their power to make advantage of it; for men of their understanding, knew well enough of what use it would be to them.

Besides, if they ever conceived such a design, I desire to know, why they did not put it into execution after the queen's death, when the Tory faction was divided against itself, and incapable of making much resistance? They certainly had much less now to fear than ever they had, when not only the throne was vacant, but also when their enemies were flying before them. If there was such a design in embryo, now certainly was the proper time to bring it forth; or if there was any design to fix the pretender upon the throne, no opportunity could be more favourable. And yet we hear of no attempts made for that purpose, 'till the year following, when the Whigs had more to answer for upon that account, than those who were called the Tory ministry. But of this I shall speak more at large by and by.

By means of these steps, taken in concert by Mrs. Masham at court, and by Mr. Harley and his friends in the country, the famous change in the ministry in 1710 was effected. There was without doubt, a great deal of room for just accusation against the old ministry, as they had scandalously abused the trust reposed in them, by carrying on the war without any sort of public view, or just reason for what they did. Notwithstanding that several advances were made by the French king, towards an accommodation, particularly in the year 1706, they were rejected even without so much as consenting to open a congress, although it might have been easily done, without retarding the operations of the war. And the war itself, indeed, can only be justified in part; for no man living, possessed of any degree of honesty, will ever pretend to vindicate the treaties of partition. But the villainy of whole nations combined, is the most consummate of all villainies. This however was the conduct of that ministry, manifesting neither inclination to open a congress, nor, when begun, to bring matters in good earnest to a conclusion, I mean by putting an end to the war. The French indeed are accused of breaking off the treaty of Gertruydenberg, in hopes of making advantage of the change which was ready to take place in the British ministry. And I am really of opinion, that they made the advantage they expected from it. This was laid to the charge of the Tory ministry, as being guilty of forming a faction in the state, to the disadvantage of the negociators; but in this, like many other things of the same kind, it is hard to tell, which party was most to blame. For the Whigs were guilty of prolonging the war, to the ruin of their country, on the one hand; and the Tories were guilty of forming a party to supplant



supplant the ministry, while they were negotiating a peace, on the other ; which could not possibly fail of having a considerable effect upon the issue of the negociation.

In all probability the Whigs would no more have thought of a peace in good earnest at this time, than they did in 1706, if they had not found themselves pressed to it by the loud complaints of the other party. Here we meet with a melancholy instance of the imperfection of human means to accomplish our ends. It was necessary to put an end to the war to preserve the kingdom from ruin ; and it was at the same time evident, that the ministry then in power would not exert themselves properly for accomplishing this salutary work, unless they were forced to it at the hazard of the places they held. A removal of the duke of Marlborough from his command, would give room for the French king to manage his affairs to greater advantage at the treaty of peace, as it would make him sensible of the forwardness of the British court ; and yet, to continue him at the head of his army, was also to continue the war. This was a difficulty hardly to be surmounted without coming off loser ; yet, of two evils, a wise man would chuse the least : and this indeed luckily happened to be the case at that time ; which I impute more to the goodness of Providence than to the conduct of either party, for they both sought their private ends alike : but, as the colour and mask of honesty, and a profound regard for the public good, are ever the best means for that purpose, so this artifice was here, by both parties, practised with all the dexterity and cunning of worldly men.

The nation had been long imposed upon and deluded by the artful parade of triumphs, and continually gratified with the pleasure of fresh conquests

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over her enemies, without ever considering whether the war was just; or, if it was so, whether the ends of it were answered. The hopes of plunder would naturally cease with the war; and the greediness of avaricious men is never to be satisfied. This raised a hard, and sometimes too a doubtful conflict, perhaps, in the breast of the managers; but, as there is no tyranny like the tyranny of avarice, which seldom leaves the man until the soul leaves the body; so the war therefore must be continued so long as it could be done with impunity; and a whole nation, especially the English, is easily deluded by the artifices of a popular man. Nay, I will venture to say, to the indelible shame of my countrymen be it spoken, a prosperous general, at the head of an army; or a popular orator, in the House of Commons; might easily persuade them to carry on a war into the heart of China, by pretending it was designed for the extension of trade; or into the utmost limits of the Russian empire, by assuring them that it was the only means to preserve the liberties of Europe: so great is the infatuation of mankind, when they once lose sight of the truth and reason, or make any man upon earth their idol!

But, in the present case, Providence seems to have controuled those actions and measures for public good, which were only intended for the promotion of private interest. However, I would, in charity, hope, that neither party wished the final ruin and destruction of their country, although they did not regard the good of it in their conduct; because, if that should really happen to be the case, it would not have been possible for them to enjoy the possessions, in the pursuit whereof they were now so eager, with comfort and satisfaction. And, as private interest is so intimately connected with  
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that of the public, that they can only be separated in minds that are blind to both, so we can scarce imagine, but that men of so much understanding, as the leading members of either faction certainly were, had some distant regard for the welfare of their country, as they valued their own private felicity. But that was too weak a principle to have much influence upon the conduct of those who had so entirely yielded themselves up to the arbitrary controul of avarice or ambition.

Thus we see, that, while the duke of Marlborough might have carried on the war so long as there was any men or money in the nation, for any thing the nation ever thought to do to prevent him, as all were intoxicated with the love of conquest and of liberty, which last they were taught to be in danger; but that a few discontented persons, equally ambitious of titles and riches, fomented discord in the state, and started those objections against the ministry which they had but too emphatically incurred, and thereby, in the issue, proved a means to save the nation from ruin. However, I would not entertain such hard thoughts of the times as to suppose that there were then no men in the kingdom who wanted either sense to discover, or honesty to exclaim against, the measures of the ministry, thus big with fatal and imminent destruction. Such undoubtedly there were, and will be, at all times, in so populous and extensive an empire; yet sometimes their loudest exclamations are too feeble to be heard, and their number too inconsiderable to be regarded. It often happens, however, that a nation is preserved by means of one man, when he hath sense enough to discover the danger, and judgment enough to pursue proper methods for the prevention or removal of it.

The old ministry, as well as their patroness, were also accused of treating the queen with a great deal of insolence; which is not incredible, if we but consider the conduct of many others who had been long in power. Insolence and pride are the natural offsprings of riches or the favour of princes; for people soon forget themselves when they have acquired the former, or happen to be possessed of the latter. In this they only shared the common fate of thousands under the like circumstances. Thus, when they thought they had attained the summit of their wishes, a perpetual establishment in the queen's favour, they found themselves at the bottom; for, by their ingratitude, they rendered themselves odious to a princess, to whose goodness and bounty they owed their rise and greatness. In this respect they were no more culpable, perhaps, than their rivals would have been, had they enjoyed their preferments for the length of time they had been in possession of them. But, as they had been the aggressors, and had rendered themselves unworthy the favours they had received, and daily continued to receive, it must certainly be allowed a very good reason for discarding them. Of this contemptuous insolence of theirs towards their sovereign, the new ministry made all possible advantage, in order to raise and inflame the prejudice both of the queen and people against them.

The discarded party were not wanting, in their turn, to muster up all the objections they could think of, and to invent all the malicious stories their imaginations could furnish them with to the disadvantage of their rivals, now in favour: and the darker and more malignant these stories were, the more suitable they were for their purpose. This was equally the practice on both sides; and this will be the effect of party rage at all times, while human

human nature continues to be what it is. For, though the new ministry could not prove their charge against the old one, with respect to their having formed a design to change and alter the constitution both in church and state; yet that story contributed not a little to excite a jealousy in the nation, and was very far from being altogether thrown away; because it required some thought to discover the intent of it; and the vulgar, when their minds are once inflamed, are seldom masters of any at all: and the conduct of the Presbyterians likewise at that time was, in some measure, instrumental both to excite such a suspicion and to confirm the people in the belief of it: for in this consists the excellency of a state-lyar; I mean, in making proper use of every circumstance that falls in his way and in managing it to the best advantage.

The discarded party, on their side, also artfully forged the famous story of a design formed at court to bring in the pretender, and to set aside the succession in the house of Hanover, which afterwards became the creed of almost all the world for near half a century. This was unhappily believed by two of our sovereigns successively, and became a stumbling-block to them, with respect to their conduct in the government of their people, all their life-time. How far our present worthy monarch may credit this fable I know not; but, if we may gather any thing from the steps he hath already taken, one would be tempted to believe that he paid no more regard to it than it really deserves.

It would make one almost quite out of opinion with the world, if he did not recollect himself, and consider the nature of a probationary state, to think that a number of unfortunate gentlemen should exert themselves to the utmost of their power to secure the succession to the crown in



a certain family, and afterwards should be discarded and persecuted when that family came to the throne ; and at the same time that a rival faction, who had done little or nothing for this purpose, or, if they did any thing, it was only what the former, who were shamefully abused, had their proportionate share of merit in, should, notwithstanding this, be able to engross all the favours of the court to themselves; and that entirely by means of dark, wicked, and designing lies which they had forged on purpose. This, however, was really the case with respect to the affair under consideration; for, though the queen and her Tory ministry had taken all imaginable pains to settle the succession in the illustrious house of Hanover, by setting a price on the pretender's head, and by declaring it high treason by law for any person to enlist any men in his service, which was done in consequence of a motion made by lord Bolingbroke ; yet that same person was afterwards forced to abscond, and leave his country, by the fury and rage of a party who had found means, by the strength of slander and calumny, to blacken his character, and to represent him as a traitor to that prince whose interest he had faithfully served while in power.

A man that would reject this evidence, as not being sufficient to prove, that there was no design to bring in the pretender; but would, notwithstanding, still continue to affirm, that all this was done the better to mask and conceal their designs, is not to be treated upon the footing of a person in his right senses : for the argument plainly turns upon this hinge, that either they who made this law were mad, if they intended to countenance it in practice, as they were under no absolute necessity of making such a law, because they might easily have contented themselves with what was done before,

fore, and that without giving any room to accuse them of traiterous designs or disaffection : or, that the objector is really so deficient in his intellectual faculties, as not to be capable of comprehending the most obvious and self-evident truths. That the former, that is, the ministry, were not mad, is evident from the whole tenor of their actions ; for there never was an overt-act to prove a design to bring in the pretender produced against them : and, if they were not for him, they certainly must be against him ; because the nation had no thoughts of abolishing monarchy, and therefore somebody must be king. No other prince, but the elector only, was ever proposed to succeed to the throne of England, and consequently their measures and conduct were direct and uniform ; for, 'by making the above-mentioned law, they evidently intended to secure the succession in that family, which was both their own choice and that of the nation ; and they acted at the same time in exact conformity to what the parliament had done before. This certainly cannot be deemed the conduct of fools or madmen : but, if they intended such a step only in order to mask their designs, they could not possibly have done any thing more impolitic ; for, though the pretender himself might have been in no danger if they held private correspondence with him, yet such a law must, without all doubt, have greatly contributed to deter any from enlisting themselves into his service, as it was impossible for the ministry to let the whole people know that all they did was meer sham : and, as the people were almost entirely Protestants, it cannot be supposed that they would have seriously thought of fixing the crown upon the head of a Popish prince ; especially as they did not want a Protestant one for their purpose : it would therefore have been un-

possible to support the interest and pretensions of a prince thus circumstanced, unless it were done by means of a powerful army; and to prevent such an army from rising or forming was this very law intended. In a word, I would rather think that any man that would argue in contradiction to this plain deduction of reasoning, were something wanting in his intellects, than suppose that queen Anne's ministry were mad; for, to do them that justice which they would not do to one another, both her old and new ministry were men of as great parts as any, perhaps, that went before or succeeded them in that station.

But, admitting that there really was a design formed to bring in the pretender, as the Whigs would fain have the world believe, I desire to know why they have not, for the sake of their own credit and reputation, given us a full proof of this matter? Surely no greater villainy can well be conceived, than to condemn any man without proof; yet this is what they actually have had the candour and honesty, or, rather, the wickedness and barbarity, to do in the case of Dr. Atterbury, bishop of Rochester. If he had any thing of a trial allowed him, it was only such as proved their villainy more emphatically; in as much as the most dangerous kind of it is, with most security, carried on and practised under the colour of law. Hath the world been informed of his guilt; or, was there no further evidence against others as well as against a single bishop? It is surprising indeed that any one man should be so daring, and at the same time so stupid, as to think himself capable of fixing a prince upon a throne, without any assistance, and in opposition to the intention and design of a whole nation. A man of Dr. Atterbury's sense could not possibly be guilty of so much folly. If there were any  
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joined with him in the conspiracy, why did they not let the world know who they were? If they had absconded, they might, nevertheless, have made their names public, and with equal propriety have informed us of the most material circumstances of their guilt; but, if they were to be found in the kingdom, why were they not apprehended and brought to their trial? I verily think, for my part, that the public have certain privileges to insist on as well as the House of Commons; and one of them is, that they have a natural and undoubted right to know the cause why any member of the community is condemned to suffer punishment. If they have not this right, I am sure it is an unhappy defect in our constitution, and we are still slaves to tyranny: but this privilege, I believe, will be easily granted us, or farewell justice and liberty.

When this unfortunate bishop was forced to give way to power and the violence of party, which basely trampled upon law and justice, I am surprised that the nation did not think proper to avail itself of this natural right and privilege, and demand the reasons why a member of the commonwealth must be banished his native country when there was no apparent proof of guilt against him. It was certainly doing the king no service to suffer him to be the dupe of a party, only because he was taught to believe that those were his enemies who, in reality, were his best friends: for a king who reigns only in the hearts of one half of his subjects, can never be secure; but is always in danger of being supplanted and dethroned: but, because Dr. Atterbury was a very busy man, and a great stickler for the Tory party, "that haughty prelate," to use Sir Robert's own expression, "must be humbled." And, for this purpose, all that ought to be held sacred, justice, law, and liberty,

berty, must give way. If this be called defending and protecting the common rights of mankind, I do not know what, with equal propriety, may not be termed so.

I remember to have read a story, some time ago, relative to this affair, trumped up, I suppose, by some profound state-lyar, who, for his important services, may possibly enjoy some considerable place under the government to this day. It was related as follows, or in words to the same effect: namely, That the duchess of Buckingham had fortunately discovered a dangerous conspiracy, formed against the government, whereby the succession to the crown in the present family upon the throne was to be set aside, and the pretender introduced and fixed upon it, notwithstanding the laws that were made, and the resolutions that were taken to the contrary. When she had luckily made this discovery, she took care to give timely notice of it to the ministry, but insisted upon their granting to her one request before she would reveal what she had discovered; which was, that a particular friend of her's, who had been unhappily engaged in that plot, should be pardoned. Having received a solemn promise of this request, she immediately laid open and communicated to them all that she knew of the matter; but, with kind care and affection, had the name of **ATTERBURY** struck out of the black list. By this lucky means the doctor had one more chance given him for his life.

The man who invented this story was certainly very unfortunate either in his manner of telling it or in his choice of a proper subject to found a story upon. I shall only observe, the ministry used the poor duchess extremely ill for punishing that person alone whose pardon she had obtained, suppress-

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ing, at the same time, not only the facts whereof they were accused, but also the very names of all the other conspirators. I do not believe that the duchess, with all her loyalty, would ever trouble her head much about plots and conspiracies for the future, as she had met with no better treatment for discovering one of such dangerous consequence. But, to give the reader my opinion of the matter, I declare solemnly, that I do not believe a single syllable of the whole transaction; nor will I believe any other story which involves so many contradictions and absurdities: and I do not doubt but the world would have known it long ago, if there had been any just foundation for this, or for any other of these seditious and malignant stories, which have been industriously spread in the nation by the emissaries of an insulting faction.

It is odd enough that nothing to the purpose could be gathered from the papers of lord Bolingbroke, which were seized upon, if there had been any truth in what the Tory ministry were charged with. It is likewise equally surprizing, that they did not think proper to proceed to the trial of the earl of Oxford, if he was really guilty; for I verily think they ought to have done so, if they had any just grounds of accusation against him, were it only to convince the world, that their proceedings were not more severe than was just and necessary: and, indeed, I am clearly of opinion, that, not only one, but any number of people in a common-wealth, who strive to force the majority of a nation into a compliance with their measures, of whatever nature they be, should not be allowed their liberty, nor yet their lives, if no other means can be found sufficient to prevent them from endangering the public peace and tranquility: for it is a maxim that will always hold good in civil government,

vernment, that the majority of a people will naturally seek what is most to their advantage as a body politic.

It is an evasion, which they ought to be ashamed of, to say, that this supposed criminal would have been brought to his trial if the heats and indisposition of the House of Commons had not forced them to lay aside their design. If this frivolous excuse should be allowed of, I am sure it is no difficult matter to muster up as good a one to apologize for, or palliate, any proceeding whatsoever. If it was for the security of the public peace that he should be taken into custody at one time, was the same purpose equally answered by giving him his freedom and liberty at another? Was it ever heard that this noble earl submitted to any mean condescension; or, indeed, to any at all, in order to obtain his enlargement; or, that he ever was pressed to make any? One who must have been so deeply engaged in this plot, if there really had been any, as queen Anne's chief minister of state, ought undoubtedly to have given the public some security for his future good behaviour, had he been actually guilty.

It is most certain, that some persons, besides the queen herself, was concerned in this design, if any at all were formed; for it could have answered no purpose for her to conceive a design, without engaging proper persons for instruments to carry that design in execution after her demise; to suppose this, would be both absurd and ridiculous, and altogether unworthy a reasonable creature, whether we consider it with respect to queen Anne or ourselves. The first question naturally arising from this state of the case, is very obvious, and easily asked, but not so easily answered; namely, who were they that were consulted in forming this famous

trious plot, and were to be employed in consequence of it? Certainly no such thing ever appeared against the queen's principal ministers, notwithstanding the seizure of their papers; nor, indeed, against any at all of her council: it would therefore be a cruelty, not to be forgiven, to accuse any man, living or dead, without proof. We ought, both in charity and justice, to suppose him innocent, unless we can produce evidence of his guilt: and this, without dispute, might have been easily done, if there had been just foundation for the charge that was laid against them; because an affair of so much importance could not possibly have been carried on, with any hopes of success, without the privity and concurrence of a great number.

If it be said, that lord Bolingbroke's absconding appears like the effect of guilt, and not as a conduct very consistent with innocence. I grant that, for the most part, such elopements are a sign of guilt; but in the present posture of affairs, it was only a meer matter of prudence: for himself was the best judge, what more particular offence he might formerly have given to some men, now in favour at court, and therefore thought it much the safest way to ward off the blow at a distance, especially when he discovered the fury and violence of that faction, which he had been instrumental to supplant, but four years before. And indeed the lenity, or rather the impetuosity of their proceedings, afforded no great room to expect either justice or equity at their hands. But his papers were seized, and if he held any correspondence with the pretender, or had been employed in forming any designs to support his pretensions to the crown, it can scarcely be supposed but that some discovery would have been made, by means of these pa-

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pers, even though he had taken care to secrete or cancel the most material ones. Yet we hear no more of the matter; but we know very well, that he was permitted to return sometime afterwards, when party rage had a little subsided. Indeed in my humble opinion, it would be magnifying the power and influence of lord Bolingbroke a great deal more than what that of any man in these three kingdoms will bear, at this or any other period, since the famous earl of Warwick, commonly called, *make a king*, to suppose, that he himself would have been able to fix the crown on the pretender's head, whether the nation approved of his choice or no. And if there were more concerned in this desperate plot, I challenge any man living, whether a Whig or a Tory, I care not, for both are alike to me, to let us know, who these men were, as it is greater odds than a thousand to one, if they are not now gone far beyond the reach and power of earthly tribunals. Yet if lord Bolingbroke was a principal agent in this affair, it is certainly proper to prove his guilt in the first place. But this I never expect to see done by any one, upon the evidence of stubborn and indubitable facts, which only can be admitted as fair proof. I shall therefore dismiss him into the other world, without a God, for he wished there was none, as he lived in this; but shall henceforth hold him acquitted of any design or intention to bring in the pretender, while he was secretary of state to queen Anne; of which I give this public notice.

From what I have said upon this subject, it will evidently appear, that the rebellion which happened in 1715, was by no means the consequence of any measures taken by the deceased queen and her ministry, and therefore, that it must owe it's rise to some other cause. If we only attend to  
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the abrupt and precipitate proceedings of the Whigs, at this time in power, it will be found no difficult matter to account for this dangerous insurrection. Although many of the English nobility and gentry had been roughly treated at court, yet, to their everlasting honour be it spoken, we do not find, that scarce any persons of note from this kingdom were concerned in that rebellion, or in the subsequent one in 1745. It is well known to all men of thought and understanding, that, upon a revolution, or upon the accession of a distant branch of the royal family to the throne, when there possibly may be many pretenders, who are active to form parties in the state, is by far the most critical and difficult time to conduct matters, so as to give offence to none, or rather so as to engage and retain the affection of all. This was a work sufficient to employ and exhaust the understanding of the most intelligent man in power, at that or perhaps at any other period. But unhappily for the kingdom, the favourites of the court were so far from consulting the good of it in this point, that they rather seemed to think it their duty to keep up the spirit of the party with all their efforts. Indeed they were but ill prepared to conduct matters with prudence, and for the true interest and benefit of the public ; for it must be acknowledged, that the provocations which they received from the Tory ministry, were more than sufficient to overturn the philosophy of those, who are much greater masters of it, than men eager in the pursuit of riches, pleasures and honours are generally found to be.

Their having been long in power made them only the more impatient to be again re-instated. And as they evidently saw, that they had neither hopes nor prospect of being reconciled to their old



mistress the queen, they applied themselves altogether to lay in a stock of merit, sufficient to recommend them effectually to the peculiar favour of their future sovereign, whereby they might engross all the places in the disposal of the crown entirely to themselves. This they very fully accomplished, by means of their address at the elector's court, which, in point of policy, must be easily accessible to every Englishman at that time. And as they had been accused by the Tories of intending to alter the constitution, by changing it into the form of a republic, whereby they had received a deep wound; so now the Whigs, in their turn, were fully resolved to be revenged on their rivals by fighting them with their own weapons; and therefore, with equal art and malice, suggested to the elector, that there was a deep design formed in the British court, of fixing the pretender upon the throne of England, in opposition to all the acts that had been made in favour of that prince; they were at the same time no less industrious to alarm the nation with perpetual apprehensions, upon the score of religion, giving out every where, that schemes were concerting for the introduction and establishment of popery. This the credulity of the people readily took for granted, with the same precipitation as they had before believed the story concerning the danger they were in from presbyterianism. How little soever religion may be regarded in general, and how often soever it may in wicked minds be condemned to give way to temporal interest, yet when it comes to the trial in cases of the last extremity, it generally engages the chief attention, and is allowed the preference to any other consideration. It hath therefore been ever the practice of designing men, to introduce, and urge the cause of religion, as their principal,

if not their only motive, for engaging in particular measures, which, all the while, were altogether calculated to answer certain private purposes of their own. This was really the case at that time ; for both parties made the best use they could of this argument, and it answered the design of each in his turn very well.

Thus prepared, and thus provoked, by the treatment they had met with from the Tory faction, they entered upon the stage at the accession of the present royal family upon the throne. For the last ministry, while in employment, had not the same opportunities, altogether with the discarded, to make their addresses at the court of Hanover, although they did not want inclination. They manifested their attachment to that illustrious house, by all the means that was in their power, as is sufficiently evident from what I have already said ; but all they did to recommend themselves, as well to the kingdom, as to the elector, was totally overlooked, and their rivals had the address and dexterity to throw upon them the disgrace of being traitors, and disaffected to the government.

It is needless to observe, at least to the more thinking part of mankind, that there are always some in every state and kingdom, who are ever ready to seize all opportunities that offer themselves, whereby to make or raise their fortunes. Men of this cast are by far the most dangerous to government, for they are always ready to join the prevailing party ; but if their designs are not, by this means, answered to their satisfaction, they will not hesitate a moment to foment a fresh insurrection, in favour perhaps of their former adversary, in order to accomplish their ends at any rate. Simon lord Lovat, not long since beheaded upon Tower-hill, was exactly one of this cast. For in

1715 he joined the loyal party, with a view to recommend himself to the king's favour, thereby to possess himself of his family estate; but upon a little disgust he had received at court, he revolted, and was afterwards the principal cause of the rebellion in 1745.

It is to this species of adventurers that both these insurrections were chiefly owing; although it must be granted, that the conduct of the Whig ministry, who triumphed at the accession of the present royal family, did not a little contribute to excite and inflame them. The Tories, however, were perfectly innocent from having any concern in any of these rebellions. It is very probable, that they might express some warmth at the treatment they had met with at court, which contributed rather to excite disgust, than to encourage loyalty in the nation; yet some allowances should be made for the infirmities of human nature, as well with respect to the conduct of those in favour, as to that of those who were now discarded. For these are heats and ferments which are likely to continue, between contending factions, in all ages, although they may be equally well-wishers to the reigning prince; for in these cases, the question is not who shall be king, but who shall hold places of profit under the king?

I cannot deny, but some disloyal toasts were drank, at different times, by those who were reputed Tories, and some other methods practised, whereby to express their dislike, not to their king, else they would not have accepted of preferments under him, which none of them was ever known to refuse; but to the ministry, who had engrossed all for their own party. Upon the whole, I must confess, that when I consider the depravity of human nature, especially with respect to those, who  
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are adventurers for court favours, and also the insolence of the Whigs, then in power, I am more surprized, that the Tories were not rather more than less precipitate and imprudent in their conduct, than they really were.

The Scotch nation, which hath unfortunately been but too often the dupe of France and of faction, was principally concerned in fomenting and supporting both the rebellions that were raised in favour of the pretender. But the English had little or no concern in them. He was joined, I allow, by some desperadoes, who, I make no doubt, would with equal readiness, have joined the French king, or the emperor of Germany, in the like circumstances. Yet the nobility and principal gentry of England, preserved their reputation perfectly unstained. And though some of them may have given room for suspicion, in this matter, yet that doth not amount to a proof. But this, admitting it were so, should not be imputed to any designs formed by queen Anne's ministry, but to that spirit of adventure which will ever be found in those who are totally destitute of principle and honesty.

To say that it is very possible, that he might have been joined by a great many more, had he made farther advances into the heart of the kingdom, is mere folly. It is true, we cannot deny, but their numbers might have increased, for it could hardly be otherwise, as they could not fail to meet with more adventurers; yet this doth by no means prove the point in question, whether queen Anne and her ministry, I mean, had laid a foundation for such a future rebellion, or no? Nor does it prove, that any gentleman of distinction, in England, had formed any design of this nature; for if they really had, they certainly would have  
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put it in execution, either the first or second time; they had so favourable an opportunity offered them to do so. They knew that they had no reason to expect, that miracles should be wrought to raise this candidate for the crown to the summit of his wishes; they must know that the interposition of human means was absolutely necessary for this purpose. Or indeed, had he been supported and fixed upon the throne by the Scots only, they knew well enough that, in this case, they would have no merit to plead, and consequently could have no reason to expect preferments. And if we may be allowed to conclude any thing from their conduct upon a late occasion, we have no great room to think they would have submitted very quietly to a Scotch government.

From the whole I have said upon this subject, every one, who is not altogether lost to reason and common-sense, let his prejudice be what it will, may easily perceive, that there never was the least design formed by queen Anne's ministry, to set aside the succession in the house of Hanover, and to make way for the pretender to the throne after her demise. And from the conduct of the English nation, when attempts were made for that purpose, it may likewise be concluded, that, notwithstanding the vile calumny and slander of the Whig faction, there never were any schemes concerted or encouraged by the principal gentry, or indeed by any at all of this nation, for the introduction and establishment of the pretender upon the British throne. It is but just to add, that the Scotch nation, which hath been unhappily engaged in the late rebellions, should not be accused of disloyalty, any farther than the charge is supported by facts. Several of the nobility, it is true, espoused the interest of the pretender in 1715, but  
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in 1745, the number of them that did so, was extremely few. And only one of them perhaps engaged in this measure, from a deliberate and premeditated design. But why should this be thought to affect the character or principles of those who are perfectly innocent? We may, with equal justice, hang the whole English nation, for the robberies that are committed only by a few of the vilest rascals that are to be found in it, as condemn all that are born beyond the Tweed, because a few Scotch desperadoes have been guilty of treasonable practices. But every man, who is not either a fool or a knave, will readily grant, that the circumstance of the rebellions fomented there, is so far from being a disgrace, or an imputation upon the innocent, that it highly contributes to render them more illustrious for their loyalty and fidelity. They have more than once undergone the fiery trial, but still remain untainted: If there is any man that will not allow this to be fair reasoning, I would advise him to betake himself from the society of mankind, to a species of animals, whose capacities are just upon a level with his own. But lest his error should prove to be the effect of insanity, it may be proper for him first to consult his friends and physicians about the matter, to receive their instructions.

The circumstance of the rebellion in 1715 was, however, of the utmost service to the triumphant faction; as it gave them an opportunity, not only to confirm the king in the suspicions which they had already excited in him, but furnished them also with a plea of merit, as they had been, in some measure, instrumental to suppress that insurrection, which their own conduct had contributed not a little to create and inflame. The story cited by Swift, on another occasion, from an old history

of Sarmatia, is so applicable to what I have said in this place, that I must beg leave to introduce it. "There was a great king in Scythia, whose dominions were bounded, on the north, by the poor mountainous territories of a petty lord, who paid homage as the king's vassal. The Scythian prime-minister, being largely bribed, indirectly obtained his master's consent to suffer this lord to build forts, and provide himself with arms, under pretence of preventing the inroads of the Tartars. This little depending sovereign, finding he was now in a condition to be troublesome, began to insist upon terms, and threatened, upon every occasion, to join the Tartars: upon which the prime-minister, who began to be in pain about his head, proposed a match betwixt his master and the only daughter of this tributary lord; which he had the good luck to bring to pass; and, from that time, valued himself as author of a most glorious union, which, indeed, was grown of absolute necessity by his corruption." The reader will easily perceive, that, although this story doth not tally in every circumstance with the matter in hand, it agrees very well with it in its main design, and therefore needs no farther comment.

Had it not been for the event above-mentioned, it can hardly be supposed that the Whig faction should have been able to impose upon the credulity of two successive kings without being detected: but, such is the nature of prejudice or prepossession, that it seldom leaves the mind at liberty to distinguish between truth and falsehood, even where the evidence is almost irresistible: and we know very well, that their practice was, to suffer no one to have the king's ear, or scarcely to approach the royal presence, but such only whose interest it was to keep him in ignorance. Nor need we wonder

so much at this, when we consider how few there are, even at this day, who can see through this mystery of wickedness, or venture to disengage themselves from the shackles of custom and prepossession, although they never were, perhaps, under the influence of party on either side. That those, whose interest is no way affected by it, should suffer themselves to be equally deluded with the factious multitude, is altogether unpardonable; for we know, that men of base principles will often, by long custom, persuade themselves into a belief of the grossest falshood and absurdity, when such a belief tends any way to promote their designs or private interest. I am, at the same time, a good deal surprized, that none of the Tory party should take the pains to clear themselves of the charge of disloyalty which their rivals loaded them with, so much to their disadvantage. They might easily have asked the question, wherein their disloyalty did consist, as no overt-act was ever proved against them upon that account? They might likewise have said, that they never offered to join the pretender, although they might easily have done so, having had several opportunities if they had been so inclined. To which they might have added, that they were ready, one and all, to embrace the offers of the court, whether a bishopric, peerage, or pension. It cannot be imagined, that they intended to be always out of favour from their own meer choice; for they knew the value of money, and the contents of the Treasury, too well to be guilty of so much imprudence. I am, I freely own, very sorry that so considerable a body of people should have continued so long under a cloud, and far from the benign influence of the royal presence.

But, when I consider how unfit any man, slavishly engaged in a party, is for the discovery of the truth, my astonishment, on this account, is greatly diminished. Besides, writers of this cast can seldom refrain from scurrility; which makes it evident to all, that they themselves are party-men; which causes all they say, though it were the most uncontrollable truth, to be suspected, and perhaps, totally disbelieved: and it is not once in a thousand, that we meet with parties or factions but what are almost equally culpable on both sides. They generally pursue the same ends, although by different ways; for self-interest is commonly the sole motive and grounds upon which all their actions and conduct is founded. An honest man will associate only with them that are so, but without the least regard to party-distinction. But it seldom or never happens, that parties can defend themselves in all points, although they may not be guilty of one hundredth part of what is laid to their charge by their adversaries and rivals. As, for instance, though the Whigs did not intend to change the form of government in the reign of queen Anne, yet they were guilty of a great deal of insolence towards her majesty; which was a part of the charge brought against them, as well as of purloining the public monies in the most shameful and scandalous manner; a conduct they have religiously pursued to this day. The Tories, likewise, though they had no more intention than the Whigs to bring in Popery or the pretender, could by no means justify the methods they had practised to supplant the former ministry, nor prove their allegations against them; nor yet sufficiently defend the famous peace of Utrecht, which they had made: for, certainly, had the duke of Marlborough thought proper to put an end to the war,

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the peace would have been much more to the nation's advantage ; for the French king had clearly discovered, by the removal of him from his command, that the intention of the English was to conclude a peace at all events ; and the Whigs, instead of endeavouring to second these operations of the Tories for the public good, did all their malice could invent to clog their proceedings, the better to throw contempt and odium upon them.

Thus, we see, the public good is equally sacrificed on all sides, and thereby both parties forfeit their title to that real merit which ought to be their principal concern to acquire ; and, consequently, a party-writer must do all he can to evade and palliate some of the most notorious allegations against those whose cause he hath undertaken to defend and vindicate, before he can make them appear any thing tolerable in the eye of the disinterested and unbiassed part of the nation. Such a conduct as this towards the known part of their character, makes the world suspect the rest of his narration. Add to this, that the most injurious calumny a faction is charged with, is, generally, the most dark and mysterious part of their accusation ; for that consists most commonly of dangerous lies and forgeries ; being altogether the effect of party rage and malice, and consequently not a point so easy to be cleared.

Having thus removed all impediments in our way to the discovery of the truth, by stating the conduct of the two celebrated factions of Whigs and Tories, almost from their first existence, or, at least, as far upwards as it was necessary to do so for illustrating the subject in hand, down to the accession of the present royal family on the throne, in the most impartial light ; I shall now proceed to consider the nature and state of the present political



cal disputes, and to examine how far the conduct of either deserves praise or censure. To that perplexing æra, the latter end of queen Anne's reign, I have done that justice which could not be expected from party writers, who meanly resign the proper use of their intellects for places or pensions, or only for the hopes of either. It was necessary for me to look as far back as this period, in order to examine how far either of the contending factions is entitled, from the tenor of it's conduct, to the favour of their common sovereign; because the Whigs have entirely engrossed to themselves all places of trust and profit in the disposal of the crown; or, at least, they have done so, with very few exceptions, during the reigns of two kings successively. The Tories, whose case I pity, after making a mighty clutter and bustle for three or four years, sunk well nigh into forty or fifty years oblivion; and, if their loyal and warm antagonists, the Whigs, had not told us, that there were such people in the world, scarce any body, I believe, would have known a single syllable of the matter. In all this tedious and melancholy period, they have not so much as atchieved a single action, that I know of, which is worth recording, unless it be that some of the ring-leaders among them, by means of their opposition in parliament, have craftily secured to themselves a few earldoms and baronies, together with a few more lucrative employments, which either they or their children enjoy to this day. But then, as soon as these temptations were thrown in their way, we never hear any more of their patriotism or honesty; for both are easily buried in ignominy and a peerage: and the once dearly beloved, but now forgotten, fraternity of Tories, is from that moment totally forsaken: which proves them to be, what they really are,

are, as arrant Whigs as any in the whole kingdom; but would be Tories again whenever the scale turns in their favour.

I would not, however, be thought so severe as to condemn any man only for accepting preferment, provided he is suitably qualified for discharging the duties of his office or employment, and hath honestly enough to do so; or industriously exerts himself to merit that dignity for which he stands candidate: but, on the contrary, I not only approve, but heartily recommend, such an honest and laudable ambition. It is then only it becomes criminal, when undue means is practised to obtain and secure these ends; as, for instance, when a member of parliament buys the votes of his constituents at an election; offers himself, soul and body, to the ministry upon certain condition; and, if he doth not fully succeed to his wishes, turns out an infamous libeller of the court, and industriously opposes all the measures of the ministry indiscriminately; and that for no other reason but, because they do not gratify the utmost bounds of his avarice or ambition; that thereby he may render himself formidable to them, in order to force them to make peace with him upon his own terms; being at the same time, perfectly destitute of every generous principle or public view. This, I say, is consummate villainy; and I heartily wish, there were none whose characters did not exceed this description, and who were not, as they really are, something more than original to this picture.

The Whigs, as I have observed, thus became the favourites of the court, and continued so during the reigns of our two late sovereigns, successively; but we find little or nothing done by them all this time, worthy our notice, unless an  
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indefatigable persecution of the Tories be deemed so. For I know of no public act made by them, greatly tending to strengthen our constitution, either in church or state. The principal, and almost the only act made for this half a century past, which deserves the applause both of this and of every succeeding age, is the union between England and Scotland, which was effected in the former part of queen Anne's reign, and which our celebrated patriots W---ks and C----hill have taken so much pains to dissolve. This act may be said to throw some lustre upon the Whig ministry of that time; but it should be remembered, that the future Tory one, acted then in conjunction with them, and consequently, are not to be excluded all merit, upon the score of that transaction. Every man tolerably versed in history, knows very well, how much more powerful and formidable the kingdom of France is become, since the union of all its provinces, than it was before; and will readily allow, that the addition of both the Indies would never have been sufficient, to render it the terror of Europe, had it been still divided into six or seven principalities, under the dominion of so many different princes, even though they owed allegiance to one, as supreme, and had been in much greater subjection to him, than the princes of Germany are to the emperor. The same reasoning will abundantly hold with respect to Scotland, and highly recommends our union with that kingdom, as an affair of the utmost national importance, which all well-wishers to their country, as well as our rulers, should endeavour to strengthen and cement, by every means in their power. Were they able to do us no good, which is very far from being the case, it would be both prudence and policy to secure them in our interest. But if the strength of  
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A kingdom consists in the multitude of it's people; I cannot conceive, why that part of the British empire should not be as valuable as any other, in proportion to the number of hands it keeps in employ. And this may easily be proved to the conviction of any reasonable man, whatever our modern politicians may think of the matter.

The changes and revolutions which happened in the ministry during the two late reigns, being almost totally Whigish, they are therefore scarce worth our notice. It is however hardly possible to pass quite in silence over the corrupt, pusillanimous, and dastardly, pacifick ministry of sir Robert Walpole. Corruption hath been, as it were, unfortunately introduced with the revolution, and was connived at in that, as well as in all subsequent periods, without any manner of necessity. For I hold it an invariable maxim, that the majority of a people, should be left at full liberty to chuse for themselves, in all cases, without being held in the shackles of bribery, and corruption. For, according to the nature and constitution of things, it seldom happens that one man can do much more than provide for himself and his family, and therefore, it is impossible, that many can support themselves by the toil and labour of a few, and consequently; it can never be for the advantage of a majority, to tyrannize over a lesser number. And with respect to religion, the majority should take place in this case also, so far as to form the established one; but every inferior sect hath undoubtedly a natural right to toleration, unless the principles of it are subversive of ail government. Hence it appears, that bribery and corruption is at all times inexcusable, as well as criminal, even at the most dangerous crisis. For the decision should be always left to the majority, with respect to their choice of governors,



vernors, as well as form of government ; and, I believe, to confirm this reasoning, I need only appeal to every true lover of monarchy, and ask him, if he would not think it extremely hard, that any diminutive sect amongst us, should by some craft or subtlety, be able to change our present model and form of government ? And was I to appeal to any man, totally impartial, I would ask him if he would not think it reasonable, that a few, even though he were one of that few, should prescribe laws to a superior number ?

But the sole end and design of bribery, is to secure a majority by unfair practices, and consequently nothing can be so dangerous to liberty and government. For by this means the few are constituted sole judges of what is best, and most suitable for the condition and circumstances of the many, and may dare by gradual advances, to change the form of government, and thereby to reduce the many into the most abject servitude and vassalage ; because it is possible, the few may be supported by the toil and labour of the many, though the contrary cannot happen. But were this to be admitted, that power belonged to any that could possess themselves of it, I cannot think it altogether impossible for events, however unlikely, so to fall out that the supreme direction of affairs at one time or other, may be lodged in the hands of Infidels or Atheists, who would think themselves sufficiently justified, in abolishing Christianity and all religion, provided they could secure a majority in parliament, no matter by what means, to favour and second their diabolical designs. But for my part, I am quite of a different opinion, and really think, that a people should be always left to their own free and natural choice, and should never be tempted by bribery, to act in opposition to their true interest,



rest, or to what they think so; for I always suppose, that the majority ever will, to the best of their knowledge, consult the public good. Or should it happen otherwise, once in a century, the inference, that therefore the same will always happen, will hold good neither in speculation nor practice.

But were one to judge of Sir Robert Walpole's sentiments concerning this matter, from the tenor of his conduct, while chief minister of state, he would readily conclude, that he was quite of a different opinion. I know it is a late maxim, that the minister should always have a majority in the house of Commons. But admitting it were so, the inference is not what they generally force from the premises, namely, that therefore he who occupies that station, should secure a majority at any rate; but that, if it be really necessary, that he should always have a majority of his side, he should immediately quit that department, and suffer it to be filled by one, whose integrity and abilities the nation shall approve. But I think, the truth of this maxim may be disputed; for the parliament should be slaves to no one's measures or infallibility, but should always be at full liberty to judge for themselves; and they ought to give their consent upon no other terms or conditions, but because they approve of such measures. And I look upon it as an arrogance in the highest degree, for a minister or any one else, to expect more than this, as it directly tends to constitute that person altogether absolute. If a minister must be always complied with, it renders at one stroke, both parliament and council perfectly useless, and supposes him as infallible as his holiness the pope, in all he says and does.

But should it be urged, that the house of Commons, if they did not very well approve of his

majesty's choice of a minister, should be apt; merely from a spirit of opposition and perverseness, to reject his measures, although in the highest degree conducive to the public good; I answer, that this argument hath no force, for it immediately leads to support and countenance corruption in it's full extent. The inference from this will be, that therefore a majority must be secured at any rate, because, without it, good measures may be rejected. But I am convinced from experience, that a man, who hath given proofs in other departments of his honesty and fidelity, will always find the house of Commons abundantly grateful to him; and there is a great deal more room to fear from his abuse of their confidence, than from their obstinacy and perverseness; because it is much more probable, that one single person, who is perpetually surrounded with temptations, should be corrupted, than that five hundred and upwards, or the majority of them should as abruptly become equally degenerate, especially if they are not in the same danger from temptation. If it be still urged that the wickedness and depravity of the times, render this practice in some sort necessary; I affirm it to be a scandal, which our age, bad as it is, doth not in truth deserve. For I know, that bribery and corruption at elections, if attempted in good earnest, may be abolished, and consequently, the necessity of a slavish majority in parliament would be totally superseded. For ill humour in the house of Commons, is always known to arise, either because the venal part of it is disappointed in their pursuits of preferment, or because the honest part of it is apprehensive that the public monies are squandered or misapplied, or on account of some such other abuses. If therefore, the members are altogether the free and natural choice of the

the people, we have no reason to doubt, but that a great majority of them will ever be ready to consult the true interest of the nation. For though a dark designing knave may sometimes impose upon his neighbours, and be able to secure for himself a seat in parliament, yet we know well enough, that when he is once detected, he stands no manner of chance to be re-elected upon any future occasion, if no undue means were practised to warp the constituents in their choice. Virtue, it is true, hath but too little influence, when weighed in opposition to present gain and secular considerations; yet when the mind is unbiassed by these, it seldom or never fails to obtain approbation, in preference to vice, however fashionable. Hence therefore, we may easily conclude, that, were bribery at elections totally abolished, it would be a much less difficult matter to manage the house of Commons, than our ministry sometimes find it; for the members of it would consist of the most pacifick, discerning, and good-natured part of the gentry. And to think, that there is not so much virtue in the world as this comes to, is extreme folly, and no more than an argument which those who find their account in encouraging corruption, will always be ready to make. For it is not true, what some say, that one half of the world are knaves, and the other fools: because though the number of petty knaves, such as would cheat as far as they could with impunity, would amount perhaps to more than two thirds of the people, upon a moderate computation; yet the number of the more dangerous and arrant rascals, is not so great as is commonly imagined. For by these last, I would only understand those, who for some trifling gratification would basely sell the common rights and liberties of mankind. And there are not many who would willingly be-

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come slaves upon any conditions: and the mob of England, who are taught that liberty is their birthright, though chiefly composed of wretches the most ignorant and abandoned, are always known to rise in opposition to that party from whence they apprehend danger: and it is by no means their fault that they are most commonly in the wrong, because what they do is only for want of better information: and it is great pity that ever a common-wealth should want those that would be honest and active enough to give the world a faithful and impartial account of those transactions which occasion disputes; for it is by means of artful lies, the contrivance of one dangerous impostor only perhaps, that a whole nation is often set together by the ears; and one daring knave hath commonly the success to make ten thousand fools, as is evident in the case of Whitefield the famous Methodist preacher.

But, admitting bribery were now become a disease, almost past cure, would this be an argument for countenancing it, or not rather a very strong one for abolishing it? To argue at this rate would be just the same as if a minister were to preach to his congregation, that, if any of them were so far advanced in their wickedness, as to find it next to impossible to forsake their sins, they might as well go on, and take their chance, without thinking any more about the matter: and yet, were he to do so, I really think there is scarce any one, however lost to virtue, but would hold such a doctrine in the greatest abhorrence and detestation. But, villainous as such a doctrine would be, it is the very same which Sir Robert Walpole, and, indeed, almost all the ministry ever since the revolution have, in a manner, held inviolable: and the only difference is, that it respects a matter of  
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temporal concern more immediately, although it cannot fail of being accompanied with effect and influence correspondent to it's principles, if considered also in a moral and religious view.

It is true, indeed, that bribery and corruption had taken pretty deep root long before Sir Robert was made chief minister; yet he is peculiarly entitled to the honour of having been the first who reduced this practice, as it were, into a regular system; and I wish I could add, that all corruption died with this minister: but, unhappily for us, the case is quite otherwise; for I really believe, that there are now found amongst us some improvements of later date, and perfectly modern, which, in a great measure, eclipse the glory of that great and illustrious patron of bribery: but, to do him justice, he must be allowed likewise to be the father of the sinking-fund; a scheme which, by proper management, might have been of some service to the nation; but, if it must be always in debt, is impossible we can reap any real benefit from it. Yet, as the design was good, it would be cruel to rob him of what merit his character may derive from it; especially as it is the whole to which he could ever lay any claim.

When I consider him in his private capacity, I could almost curse ambition, and wish there was none in the world, as it leads so many to expose themselves, and often to ruin their country at the same time. But, however amiable in private life, it is not the part of an honest man to continue in a public station any longer than it is for the benefit of his country for him to do so. If there is any man to be found who is better able to discharge the business and duty of that office with credit and reputation, he certainly ought to be allowed the preference. Or, though it were not want of capacity



capacity that disqualifies him for such a station, but only the misfortune of being under popular odium, however unjust and undeserved ; yet, even in this case, it is more honourable and generous for him to resign it, at least till he hath given the world sufficient proof of his innocence, and, in a proper degree, recovered the good opinion of the candid and impartial ; which he may easily do, if he pursues proper measures for that purpose, unless we suppose such an infatuation as never yet existed : but it is not in the least material to the body politic, who is in office or who is not, provided the national concerns are properly attended to, and the whole machine of government is kept perfectly free from clogs and impediments in its several relative movements.

The reader is, perhaps, impatient to see what I have to say upon the subject of the present political disputes ; but I will venture to affirm, that he is no great conjuror if he doth not, in some measure, anticipate my sentiments, as I give him an opportunity to judge of the present crisis, at least in some particular circumstances, from what I have delivered with respect to the conduct of those who are gone off the stage : or, he may collect this, however, that I shall be very impartial, unless I greatly alter my language, and grow more squeamish as I approach the living. But I can assure him, that I intend to take the same liberty and freedom with the living as with the dead ; for I am firmly resolved to tell the truth, without respect of persons, as being the best, and the only, method I could think of, to rescue my countrymen from their present political madness, and to enable them to distinguish between real friends and pretended ones.

I have

I have already shewn, that the Whigs kept their ground at court during two succeeding reigns ; of whom it may very justly be said, that they, almost all, faithfully walked in the ways and ordinances of their forefathers ; unless it be allowed, that Mr. Pelham sought rather a coalition of parties than to kindle the flames of sedition. How far this may be true I know not ; but of this I am very sure, that parties were as distinct during his administration, as they had been for many years before ; and, by the best accounts we have, he is accused of having taken as much pains as any of his predecessors, to impose upon the credulity of his sovereign : for it was a sacred maxim with all the Whigs, to charge the Tories with disaffection to the government, as being the only sure means to keep them out of favour at court : and, indeed, as they had kept up the farce so long, it became, in some sort, necessary for them to continue to do so, in order to preserve their own reputation : and Mr. Pelham hath been known to make as much advantage of this argument, to the prejudice of the Tories, as any man of his time ; and to have almost prescribed laws to his sovereign : which is a conduct that every man will allow to be directly opposite to that which would have contributed to effectuate a coalition of parties : for nothing less than a clear illustration and developement of their own conduct towards them, in order to remove his sovereign's prejudice, would have been sufficient for that purpose, that, after he had so done, he might introduce them gradually into the royal favour ; which he could not do with any propriety while they were accused of being disaffected : and, as there is not the least proof that he ever made any advances to remove his sovereign's prejudice, I think I am sufficiently justified in accusing him of being as thorough-paced a Whig as any of that faction.

The next scene opens with the duke of N-- the at the head of the Treasury, in the latter end of the late king's reign; which station he held, greatly to the prejudice of this nation, until the beginning of the year 1762; when, upon account of having met with some opposition from lord B--te, then secretary of state, he thought fit to resign this high office; wherein he was succeeded by the noble lord above-mentioned: and it is from this change in the ministry that we are to date the present political rupture and controversy.

As we proceed it may be proper to examine the merit of the several gentlemen principally concerned in this dispute, and to trace them in order as they appear upon the stage of action; and also to give the world a brief, but just account of their conduct both while in and out of employment, that every one may judge of what he is to expect from the continuance of the one or the other of them in power.

The noble duke above-mentioned appears to have assumed the character of a strenuous supporter of the Whig interest at the accession of the present royal family upon the throne, and to have taken the lead at the head of that faction entirely with a view to introduce himself into favour at court. This he very effectually did, by taking a great deal of pains to lay dust of his own railing; and, by suppressing a mob whom his own conduct, as well as that of his party, had incensed. Every one who knows any thing of changes and revolutions, of much lesser consequence than that of the accession of a distant branch of the royal family to a throne, can never be surprized to find that there were some tumults at this time, as well as at every other period wherein changes of this nature happen, although there really be not the least design, or intention, to favour the interest of any other prince.

prince ; for that, I think, in the present case, is sufficiently proved already.

By means of his conduct at this time, and upon some future occasions, the noble duke, of whom we are speaking, was enabled to recommend himself so effectually to the king, that he thereby procured himself an unshaken establishment at court for upwards of forty years. When his vanity and ambition first led him to hunt for titles and preferment, he is said to be possessed of a very large and ample fortune ; which, with a tolerable œconomy, might have been sufficient for any man ; yet, by his luxury and prodigality, he hath, it seems, miserably reduced it. But I would not have taken notice of this circumstance, if it had not been a very material one for the illustration of his character. A gentleman of common prudence, or in the least acquainted with mankind, would never chuse for his steward one that hath wasted, or extravagantly squandered away, his own substance, for as much as it is folly in the extreme to expect, that a person, who is not a friend to himself, should be one to any body else ; or, rather, that a person, who was his own enemy, should be any man's friend : for I need not observe, that it is from our own feeling and sense of things, assisted by the proper use of our rational powers, that we are taught to do by others as we would they should do unto us.

His late majesty, it seems, did not consider things in this view, but was pleased to raise this favourite to places of the highest trust under the government ; wherein he gave us the melancholy evidence and conviction, that he acted in every capacity invariably upon the same principles. It is true, when we consider the part the Whigs had acted, that they had taught the king to believe, I mean, that it was by them only he must either



stand or fall, we ought to make great allowances for his conduct in this matter; and it is by their dexterity, in this respect, that they acquired all their reputation. But, I think, when the truth is come to light, it is a duty incumbent upon him who holds the reins of government, to make no other distinction between his people, but such only as he hath a natural right to do upon the score of merit. When we reflect upon this minister's conduct, from the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle to the breaking out of the last war; that he suffered the French to plant a colony in Louisiana, and to erect a chain of forts along the lakes, paying no regard to the operations or complaints of the Indians in our interest upon that account; and, lastly, to make bold encroachments even upon our settlements, without making any remonstrances to the court of France, or, at most, none effectual enough for that purpose; and, also, when we consider, that he, as it were, kept all the boroughs in England under his thumb, by means of the most glaring bribery and corruption; together with the total inattention of which he was guilty with respect to every thing that belongs to the province of an honest and patriot statesman; it is almost impossible for every well-wisher to his country not to hold such a character in the utmost detestation. It is bad enough that there should be any man, even in private life, so totally devoid of any thing, to recommend him to our esteem; but that a chief minister should be the first to introduce and establish corruption, and to set the example of cowardice and prodigality is altogether abominable; and must, unless seasonably retrieved, most certainly terminate in the complete extinction of all virtue; but the consequence I chuse to leave to the reader's imagination to discover. That this and more was really the case, during the administration whereof



whereof I am speaking, wants no farther proof than what every one's memory will readily suggest to him, if he doth but reflect ever so little upon the transactions and events of that period.

I have often thought it one of the most disagreeable and unpleasing tasks that can possibly fall in a writer's way, to give the world an history of a wicked or bad man ; at least, it must certainly be so to him, if the writer hath any sentiments of humanity ; as all the allegations he hath to urge against him, must, as it were, ultimately reflect upon the depravity of that nature whereof we are all partakers ; and, consequently, every one may justly reckon himself a party concerned : but, disagreeable as it is, I fairly confess, that all I have to say, in favour of this minister, amounts to none at all in public, and, I am afraid, to very little in private life. Had he been the author, or promoter, of any generous design for the extension of commerce, or for the security of the peace and tranquility of these kingdoms, I would gladly make mention of it ; but, to my most sincere grief, I find myself obliged to take notice of a public act (for it is in that capacity I now consider him) of a very different tendency, which was introduced into parliament under his patronage, and to which afterwards the royal assent was given ; that unpopular one, I mean, for the naturalization of Jews ; when, at the same time, an act for rendering matrimony more inaccessible than ever to the professors of Christianity, was encouraged and passed through both houses under the same patronage ; as if the design at that time had been to extirpate Christianity and to substitute Judaism in the room of it. Indeed, I am not at all surprized, that the House did so, in compliance with the minister's mandate, as both the boroughs and the Treasury were entirely at his devotion.

devotion. Some few acts for the benefit and encouragement of trade, may possibly have taken place at this time likewise ; but if it happened so, that can be no more than what hath happened, more or less, under almost every administration, ever since the revolution ; besides, I never heard that he possessed a capacity for business of any kind ; which, no doubt, would have been well known, had he really possessed one. I therefore suspect, whether he ever gave himself the least trouble upon that account, and consequently if he never did, he certainly can be entitled to no degree of merit, from acts of this nature, unless it be, that he deserves our esteem for not being an impediment to them.

But, whether any acts or not were made for this purpose, I am very sure, that a great many were made of a contrary tendency ; and it could not well be otherwise, if we consider the increase of the national debt, and of taxes, during this corrupt period. It is impossible for trade to flourish, when manufactures fail ; for the latter is the groundwork and essence of the former ; and I am sure the imposition of new duties perpetually, upon the necessities of life, is no very likely way to encourage manufactories, as it contributes to advance the price of labour, and consequently of commodities, which is the greatest clog that can possibly be to trade ; because foreigners, whose manufactories are not so much loaded with these shackles as ours, who bring their commodities to the same market, may easily undersell us. But that these incumbrances have been laid upon trade, under this, and under every other administration of late, needs no proof. To sum up this minister's character, I need only observe, that he appears, from the whole tenor of his conduct, to answer very fully, that part of Salust's account

count of Cataline's disposition, wherein he is said to be *alieni appetens, sui profusus*. And if a man of this disposition is fit to be in employment, and to hold the highest offices under the government, I freely own, I can hardly think of any thing which should be allowed to pass for an objection. But if the nation were to consider in what reputation, or rather in what contempt he was held among every class of people, at the beginning of the late war, I am fully satisfied, that they would not be so deeply in love with him now he is discarded. And nothing surely, but the most extreme infatuation and madness, can make a nation desirous to see a minister reinstated, who never was a friend to his country, while he was so.

The next statesman of any eminence we meet with, is the celebrated and popular Mr. P--t; a gentleman who, for the sake of what is truly meritorious in him, I could have wished to have so lived as not to have rendered himself the subject of that censure, which he now so justly deserves. His spirited conduct hath been undoubtedly of the utmost public utility and service; and upon that score we should continue to respect him, notwithstanding the meanness of his principles. I could almost find in myself to throw the pen out of my hand, and make no farther enquiry about the matter; but since the nation will hardly forgive her sovereign, only because her favourite was suffered to resign, and since at the same time he hath been content meanly to sacrifice that honour, which he had once so nobly acquired, I think myself fully justified in exposing the principles of our celebrated patriot, in order to enable my countrymen to see how much they have been imposed upon, thereby the better to reconcile them to their beloved sovereign.

When

When we examine the characters of men, at least of those who act upon principle, or even of those who seemingly do not, we shall never fail to discover a certain uniformity in the tenor of their conduct. All the subordinate parts of their characters will be found to conspire, very regularly, to form that *whole* which presents itself to public view. When any man first launches out into life, he generally proposes to himself a certain plan, according to which he intends to regulate his future conduct; and the center of this plan is that ultimate view or aim, to which all his actions bear some regard, immediate or remote. This may be looked upon as too much refinement, to stand as a test, whereunto to reduce the seeming contradictory and excentric actions of mankind; but whoever hath opportunities and discernment enough to discover the leading principle in any man, I am thoroughly satisfied he will be of my opinion. Indeed it must be granted, that we often waver in our designs, not because we are doubtful as to the end we would aim at, if we could accomplish it, but because, if we are not able to do so, we must content ourselves with what happens to be within our reach. Besides, it often falls out that our prospect is enlarged, together with the progress we make in our pursuits; and then we begin to remove as it were the goal we first aimed at, and strive perhaps to grasp at what we never thought of at our starting. Thus it happened with Cromwell, who certainly never imagined, at his first engaging in the republican party, any more than others of the same faction, that he should be able to dethrone the king, and to reduce the kingdom altogether into a state of slavery; but the farther he advanced in his pernicious proceedings, the more mischief he found in his

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his power to do, till, at last, he could be content with nothing less than absolute sovereignty ; and yet, were we to examine his principles, they would be found perfectly uniform and consistent.

It is true men are sometimes prevailed upon to change their designs or alter their plans, and often are forced to dissemble for a season ; or else, by joining casually with men of different principles, are totally confounded in all their measures, and their actions are warped from their original centre ; yet this is nothing but open violence, and proves no real change of principle : but, after all, some part of our conduct, perhaps, will hardly coincide with any rule at all, but must be considered as totally *excentric* and unaccountable. This, however, happens so seldom, that there is scarce one man in a thousand whose conduct and actions cannot be traced up to some common spring. It is true, some people make the lowest, the most frivolous and impertinent trifles the sole object of their pursuits and actions ; yet the obtaining or accomplishing these trifles is all they want or wish for ; and therefore it ought to be looked upon as the *grand* motive which animates and gives life to the whole of their conduct. In a word, the truth of what I have here advanced may be proved to any reasonable man's conviction ; and the observation of what passes in the world, or experience, the only proper test in all cases, thoroughly confirms it.

The sum of my reasoning upon this subject therefore is this, that every man's actions have, in the general tenor of them, a certain uniformity sufficient to inform the world wherein his prevailing passion consists : and the truth of this we shall see abundantly verified in the conduct of Mr. P.-t.

In conformity to the plan here laid down, it will be necessary to examine the part he hath acted all

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along, from his first launching out into life, or, at least, as much of it as is necessary for our present purpose. Before he received a certain disgust from the Whigs, the favourites of the court at that time, his first scheme was, to climb up to preferment by means of that interest : and to raise himself this way, he must, from meer necessity, however otherwise disposed, have entirely co-operated with their measures in every circumstance ; for, without becoming altogether flexible, he never would have been deemed qualified to hold any places of trust or profit : but, being disappointed in his design, the next alternative which naturally offered itself, to one so firmly and thoroughly determined as Mr. P—t to accomplish his ends at any rate, was to render himself formidable to the ministry, by opposing their measures and detecting their corrupt practices. This he did both by *pamphleteering*, and *speaking* in the House of Commons. Being naturally a man of exquisite parts, and extremely well adapted, on account both of his genius and capacity, for an undertaking of this sort, he soon found his success answerable to his expectation : and, as the people of England, as well as the people of Athens, are ever fond of an accuser of chief ministers, or of persons in trust under the government, whether they are really guilty or not is no way material, the popular cry was entirely in his favour. He professed the most solemn detestation and abhorrence of placemen and pensioners, and declared he never would be reconciled to either. He was equally an enemy to all manner of bribery and corruption. He had certainly as much room to complain of these abuses as ever any man had, and I only wish that the present times afforded less, or that he himself had given us an example of the same disinterestedness and integrity

grity which he so constantly professed and extolled.

The late war happened to break out very seasonably for him, because he was just then advancing to the meridian of his popularity; or, rather, if it had not been for that circumstance, it would have been impossible for him to shine forth with so much lustre. The avarice and pusillanimity of the ministry at that time, were very ample subjects for an orator of much less abilities than Mr. P——t to work upon, and to expose in the most pathetic and plausible speeches. These men, by their infamous conduct, had sunk the reputation of their country almost beneath contempt; which so enraged the honest and thinking part of the nation, that most of those who formed that ministry were forced to resign, for fear of the popular resentment which their misconduct had excited. No man, perhaps, distinguished himself more upon this occasion than Mr. P——t; for being, at that time, member of the House of Commons, he stood upon the only proper stage to display his abilities; which he certainly did with the utmost credit and reputation. This was the best opportunity that possibly could happen for him to make advantage of that popularity which his eloquence had excited.

The city of London, perceiving the actual danger the nation was in from every threatening circumstance, openly and warmly published their disapprobation of the pusillanimous and ineffectual measures which were taken to stop the progress of the French arms, and manifested their reluctance to advance money for carrying on the war, unless some honest and resolute patriot was introduced to take the lead at the helm, and to retrieve the honour of the kingdom. Mr. P——t was at this time in higher credit and esteem with the public than

any man, and therefore his majesty made choice of him, as it was now become a matter of absolute necessity, for his prime-minister; but, on account of his opposing all continental connections, he was dismissed from his office of secretary of state; which, as it happened, proved a very favourable circumstance to him; for it only contributed to increase his popularity more than ever. His majesty perceiving the disposition of his people, that Mr. P—t was now become their idol altogether, thought it most prudent to re-instate him. The secretary held his office with much credit and reputation for several years, and raised the honour of his country to a pitch which England never knew before. This is a truth which all mankind must own. He acted, however, at this time, in direct opposition to some of his former political maxims. Instead of opposing continental connections, he now thought proper to espouse and support them beyond any of his predecessors.

His conduct in this respect hath been blamed by some and defended by others, just as they were inclined by interest or prejudice; but neither of them hath ever attempted to examine this matter impartially. It hath been the practice of a great many to condemn him without mercy, for no other reason, but because he changed the model of his conduct, and vigorously pursued those measures which he had so often execrated and anathematized: but this was altogether owing either to the want of candour or judgment. It is certainly in the highest degree commendable for any man to acknowledge himself in the wrong when he hath first discovered himself to be so. As it is an argument of a great mind not to maintain any tenet which our understanding condemns and reprobates, purely because we said and thought so once, so it was undoubtedly  
more



more for his credit to change the model of his conduct than to sacrifice the interest of his country, only to be thought infallible in his judgment and consistent with himself: and I will venture to say, with all the wise men of antiquity, that, to conquer one's self, is by far the most difficult of all conquests.

Therefore, to clear this matter a little better than I have seen it hitherto done, I shall only observe, that the question is not, whether continental connections are detrimental or advantageous to England, when considered in their general tendency; this I look upon as a matter pretty well settled, although never properly examined; but the question is, whether or no these connections were really advantageous for us at that particular juncture? We oftentimes see that, by the concurrence of a number of unforeseen events, we are reduced to the necessity of breaking in upon general rules, and of making use of some expedients to surmount the difficulties we happen to meet with; which, upon any other occasion, would be altogether unjustifiable. There are not many circumstances, besides the apprehension that some prince upon the continent is in the high road to erect universal monarchy, that will justify our interposing there; which was by no means the case this last war: and, for this half a century passed, we have been certainly more busy, with respect to these foreign alliances, than was consistent with our interest. But, if we consider our circumstances, when Mr. P----t espoused continental measures, we shall find his conduct to be not only justifiable, or equally prudent with any other which he might have pursued; but also, by far preferable to any whereof that juncture would admit.

It is as invariable a rule as any in the whole system of those which pertain to the province of the statesman

statesman or the general, that the enemy's attention should be diverted, if possible, from that part against which the chief design is levelled, or which is the principal object in view; for, by amusing them, or engaging them in operations for their more immediate defence, or for some other purpose, of the necessity or utility whereof they seem to be satisfied: during this time, it is more than probable, an opportunity may be gained to attack with success, and to secure with ease, either the chief object of the war itself, or something else which, at the conclusion of it, will amount to an equivalent; as such an acquisition may be easily exchanged, if any thing more advantageous will be ceded in lieu of it; for what is advantageous to one nation is not always so to another, but, on the contrary, is sometimes detrimental. So, for instance, would the retention of some considerable and expensive fortress upon the French coast be to us, although it might be, at the same time, of the utmost importance to France. And I think it almost, if not altogether, an invariable maxim, that a nation at war with another should direct all her art to secure and possess herself of those places which may be retained with most ease both during the war and afterwards.

With this rule Mr. P——t's conduct was perfectly consistent; and it cannot well be disputed but, that the diversion made by the English upon the continent was of the utmost importance to facilitate our reduction of the French colonies. It is altogether childish to affirm, that it was quite impossible for the French to invade us at home, or to send succours to America, before their fleet, I mean, was totally destroyed: if the wind had held against us but four and twenty hours, we have no room to question but that the Brest expedition would have succeeded in their design against Ire-  
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land; for I do not see what could have hindered them, especially when we consider that Thurot was able to make an easy descent there: and it will appear equally foolish to every understanding man, for any one to affirm, that our nation is, by any means, inaccessible. It is true their fleet may possibly pay dear for their insolence; yet every man will own, that sixty or fourscore thousand French in arms upon an English coast would be no very agreeable circumstance; and such an event is not at all impossible, although, perhaps, not very probable: and, though, in time, they may be totally cut off, yet they may certainly do a great deal of mischief first; and the French, we all know, have sacrificed a great many more than this number in Germany. They might also, in the mean time, send an army no less numerous into their colonies, which would have soon enabled them to make a total conquest of ours in their once forlorn condition. But the truth of the matter is, the French have been as much infatuated and mistaken in their conduct, as we have been judicious and successful: and I am fully satisfied, that, unless they are perfectly blind to their own interest, they will adopt and pursue very different measures upon any future occasion, although I do not see how it will be in their power to do much mischief if we are properly attentive to keep up and increase our navy.

I would farther observe, that it was not material whether a diversion was made to engage the attention of our enemies upon the continent or any where else; for we wanted only to keep their forces at bay, that thereby their colonies might be left the more exposed. Could we have done this by penning them up in the islands of Sicily or Corsica, which are no part of the continent, the benefit to be derived therefrom on our part would have been

been just the same. But, as this was impossible; it was our duty to make a diversion where we could. A great deal more may be said to vindicate Mr. P--t's conduct in this respect, but I must not forget my subject.

He hath been blamed, I know, for not sending a competent number of forces for the reduction of Quebec; but we ought to consider how often such things may happen for want of a sufficient information of the nature and strength of the place; and some allowances certainly should be made for many other circumstances which may have led him into such a mistake: but, if success had not fortunately attended that expedition, he would have been highly censured for it I am satisfied. The attack upon Belleisle is certainly altogether indefensible, and our forces might have been much better employed in many other services; but our expeditions and descents upon the coast of France were of some use, and might have been of more, if they had not been laid aside on account of the disaster at St. Cas; but this was certainly owing to the misconduct of the commanding officers, as their continuing on shore, when they perceived they could be of no farther service, favoured more of insolence and folly than of common prudence or generalship: nor do I remember to have seen any tolerable vindication of their conduct in this affair. Upon the whole, Mr. P---t's ministry, I think, deserves the highest applause and panegyric; and appears to have great superiority over the most celebrated conduct of the best ministers that England ever had before him.

The expence to which the nation was put, during this period, was, it must be acknowledged, very great; and the supplies raised for the service of the war were more immense than ever; besides, we do

not



not find that bribery was in the least discouraged; for the duke of Newcastle did, all this while, just as he used to do, and secured the boroughs every where, by means of the most unbounded venality for his creatures. The number of placemen and pensioners was rather increased than diminished at this time; and I could wish that he himself, after so many years unrivalled glory, had not shamefully stained his reputation by adding one to that number. It hath been industriously reported, by many of those who did not wish him very well, that he had no great share in projecting or concerting those measures which were so much the admiration of all men at that time; how far himself, or any other, may be deemed the projector of any particular plan, I know not, nor is it very material; for, after all, there is abundant room for applause and commendation, as it was by his magnanimous and resolute conduct that they were carried into execution. To ascertain the share of merit which is due to every one concerned in concerting and executing plans of so extensive a nature, would be as useless as it would be endless; yet I think it a sign of a weak mind, not to allow due praise to a minister whose measures and plans are properly conducted.

We have now pursued him almost to the time of his resignation, the cause of which we shall examine in this place. He hath openly declared, that his resignation was altogether owing to an opposition which was made to some of his measures at the council-board. He proposed, it seems, that a squadron should be immediately dispatched against Cadiz; or some other port on the coast of Spain, in order to prevent them from carrying those designs into execution which were at that time in agitation; and which were formed in consequence of a treaty lately concluded between the courts of Madrid

and Versailles. He insisted upon an implicit compliance with this proposal of his, without informing the council what intelligence he had received concerning this matter ; in which alone he was to blame, as it was more than any man, but an absolute monarch, could expect or desire. But they were to blame also, on their side, for not having taken this step sooner, because they knew well enough, how ill the Spaniards had behaved, and how long they had trifled with our court about an explanation of this treaty. It is an unalterable maxim in politics, that all treaties subsisting between different nations should be no sooner made than published ; that all powers, which may any way be affected by these treaties, may know in what manner they are to conduct themselves for the preservation of the public peace and tranquillity. Every power hath a natural and undoubted right to demand an open and public explanation of these treaties ; and, if this demand is not immediately complied with, hath the same right to make war upon the offending party ; for no reasonable cause can be presumed to exist, why these treaties should not be made public : the only reason, therefore, why such a demand is not complied with, must be, that they contain something to the prejudice of a neighbour nation. Mr. P--t, and all the council, would have only done what it was their duty to do ; and, in so doing, would have violated no law, neither human nor divine, because the former should be always grounded upon the latter, had they proceeded immediately to make war upon the Spanish nation, upon their non-compliance with our demand, relative to the treaty just then concluded between them and our enemies : and our ministry must all know, that their conduct in declaring war against the Spaniards

ards would have been full as justifiable then as it was afterwards. The great object of war should always be the preservation of peace; and delays are ever dangerous. I shall therefore observe, with respect to Mr. P—t's conduct in this affair, that, although he was right in his judgment touching a Spanish war, he was, notwithstanding, to blame for not submitting his intelligence to the examination of the council; and, consequently, that his receding from his office was entirely an act of his own, because he had received no provocation to justify his doing so: but, were this argument spun as far as it will bear, a great deal more may be said in favour of Mr. P—t.

Now, to sum up Mr. P-----t's character, I shall briefly observe, that his conduct is animated and noble, his capacity extensive and equal to the most important stations, his understanding clear, and his judgment sound, although he seems sometimes to be hurried too far by the impetuosity of his temper: I sincerely wish that this was all, or, at least, that I had nothing worse to say of him. His shifting parties, or, indeed, his being of any party at all; his malignant invectives against the c-----t, upon the score of it's practising bribery, and his joining afterwards in all these criminal measures, of which he had professed the most solemn detestation before, are too glaring, as well as too melancholy, proofs of the meanness of his principles. Altho' the management of boroughs was left entirely to the duke of N-----tle, his colleague, who minded little or no other business; yet, if he held that practice in the same detestation which he professed to do before he came into the ministry, he certainly ought to have exerted himself properly to put a stop to it: but he was so far from doing so, that he never signified the least disapprobation of

it as we hear of; and, to confirm us in the belief, that he had nothing but his own private interest in view, when he had no farther hopes of augmenting his fortune in a public station, he meanly accepted of a pension, and approved, in his own conduct, of what he had so often condemned in others. His setting out in life upon a Whig plan, and his joining the Tory faction when he had met with a disappointment in his pursuit of that plan, and railing at the measures of the court indiscriminately, are all most incontestible proofs, that he was firmly resolved to wriggle, or force, himself into place and preferment at any rate; not in the least regarding, whether he effected his design by submitting to all the obsequious servility and blind obedience which court favourites require, or by rendering himself so formidable an enemy as to force himself into power by pure dint of violence; these, it seems, being almost the only methods for a court adventurer whereby to raise himself. His prevailing passion appears very evidently to be avarice, which he hath fortunately been able to decorate with all the lustre of patriotism and public spirit; and, it must be acknowledged, he is not the first who hath had the address to clothe and wrap up the meanest of principles in the captivating robes of the most generous and disinterested virtue; for this, indeed, hath been universally the practice of all ages, although few before him have succeeded so well in drawing on the mask upon the eyes of the public. When we consider this as the centre of his actions, we shall find his conduct regular and uniform, according to the rule I have already laid down; but, if his conduct is examined upon any other principle, it will appear full of inconsistencies and absurdities.

Elegant



Elegant pride and avarice are easily reconcilable, and often dwell in the same breast; we need not therefore wonder that his governing passion is tinged with ambition for titles and honours. The exigencies of life are naturally required, and the luxuries of it also are commonly sought for before we think of honours and precedencies; but yet, when we possess the former, we seldom fail to be ambitious of the latter; and nature seems to operate in him as it commonly doth in others, although he did not accept of a peerage; for his refusal could not be so much owing to his modesty, having already accepted of a pension, as to his pride; because he knew well enough, that no titles could dignify him, or make him more known, than his justly admired conduct had done already; but, on the contrary, it might have buried his name almost in a total oblivion: he sagely secured, however, a peerage for his family. It is true, he deserved of his king and country as well as any man of his time; yet I do not know of a single argument that can be offered to extenuate the censure which his conduct, in this matter, hath drawn upon him; for, although his m---ty's conduct was extremely laudable for paying due regard to merit, yet his accepting of a pension, without any manner of necessity, was, in him, highly culpable, not only because his conduct therein was opposite to his former avowed principles, but, because it was equally opposite to what the conduct of an honest man ought to be. Whatever his fortune was before he held any places under the government, one, who so constantly preached up the doctrine of frugality, must, without doubt, have been able to make a very ample addition to it, while he was in employment. I know that my lord H——d, then Mr. F——x, a genius of indisputable abilities

lities for calculations of this kind, declared that the places of either of the secretaries of st——e would be worth no less than twenty-eight thousand pounds, to each of them, the first year after his late m——ty's demise ; and, if so, I am sure Mr. P-----t might easily have made a shift to support himself without a pension. I really lament his throwing away a reputation, so nobly acquired, for the sake of a few thousands : such a conduct, in so illustrious a citizen, gives us a very unfavourable idea of modern virtue, especially if compared with that of the old Romans, who, as historians tell us, “ chose rather to live in penury, in a flourishing state, than to abound with riches in a declining one.”

With respect to my lord T-----ple, I shall only observe, that, as the war, and his management of it, was the chief occasion of Mr. P-----t's being so much distinguished ; so his intimate connections with the gentleman above-named, was, perhaps, the principal cause, why this peer became so conspicuous and celebrated : but his countenancing and encouraging the detestable author of the North-Briton, contributes not a little to sink his reputation in the opinion of all honest men.

The earl of B---te, late lord-treasurer, is the next illustrious personage whose character and conduct I shall examine, and whose short-lived administration hath been the subject of so much political debate. I shall trace him from his first appearance in a public character at court, to the time of his resignation ; or, at least, I shall do so as far as it may be necessary for my present purpose, as being the only sure way to form an impartial and right judgment of him : I shall therefore seize him in his capacity of groom of the stole to his present m---ty, when prince of Wales, as being the first conspicuous

ous station wherein I meet with him, without running into insignificant and useless enquiries concerning his advancement to that station. There is no candid and impartial man that will blame him, or any one else, for seeking to advance himself, by proper means, to any station at court, or under the government, provided his capacity and abilities should be equal to the importance of it; for all the king's subjects have naturally an equal right, and no more, to every station indiscriminately, and without any distinction excepting that of merit only.

A station which required so much attendance upon the young pr-ince's person, could never fail to furnish him with opportunities enough, by means of which he might ingratiate himself in his future sovereign's favour and engage his esteem. If, for this end, he practised nothing unworthy or unbecoming a gentleman of honour and integrity, but took due care to instil and fix in the young p--e's mind the principles of virtue, as far as he found it in his power to do so, I think, for the rest, he should not only be excused but commended. No man in his senses would have thought it prudent, or becoming him, to render himself obnoxious to his prince, unless honesty and truth should give offence to him; but, as his royal pupil had not hitherto acted in a public capacity, he could hardly be guilty of any mistakes to give him much occasion to expostulate with him or upbraid him: and, if he conducted himself only as he ought to do, it was but natural for a young youth, whose person he so frequently attended, no matter whether a prince or any other, to conceive a particular esteem and regard for him. I think, in this case, there can be no medium; because he must, from the nature of his station, unavoidably render himself  
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either beloved or hated; for as much as children will ever have a regard for those by whom they think they are well used. Besides, an example of virtue; gentleness and affability, must be of the utmost service to make a suitable impression upon the mind of the young prince, and to fix in him that sweetness of disposition whereof, by the confession of all men, our amiable sovereign is so amply possessed: I will not take upon me to affirm in what manner the noble lord, of whom I am now speaking, hath acquitted himself in this station: but I think, that; unless we assume the impudence of the author of the North-Briton, and give his mi——y the lye openly, we have sufficient grounds to believe that he discharged his duty with credit to himself and greatly to the satisfaction of his prince. His most virulent enemies, with all their torrent of calumny; have never been able to bring him in guilty of any failure or misconduct in this respect. I shall therefore look upon him as very justly entitled to the esteem of all honest men, for the pains he hath taken to cherish and improve those principles of virtue which he found in the royal mind: I am sure, for my own part, I cannot help thinking so, especially when I consider how much some of those who sat upon the English throne have been misled in their youth by a wrong education or bad examples; and of this we have but too melancholy an instance in the conduct of our late monarch king Charles the Second.

It is needless, perhaps, to observe, that it hath been but too often the practice of malignant and designing courtiers in all ages, who discovered that others stood before them in their prince's favour, to invent and propagate the most odious and dangerous, as well as the most intricate and mysterious, falsehoods to blacken their characters, with a  
view



view to sink their reputation, and, if possible, to render them altogether detestable. In sacred writ we meet with two very remarkable instances of this kind, in the case of Mordecai and of Daniel; but to quote instances would be endless. Thus, it seems, the envied situation of this noble lord hath been a means unfortunately to expose him to this kind of calumny; but from the guilt of which every man, who is possessed of the least tincture of humanity, would readily acquit him, when he considers the malice of his accusers, and the total non-existence of any evidence to countenance or support the truth of their assertions. I am sure, there is no man, were he to make the case his own, but would think himself extremely ill used that any should accuse him without evidence, and condemn him without justice; for, certainly, the very existence of justice is taken away, where a sentence of condemnation is passed without evidence. The most cruel and barbarous assassination is that of a man's character, as no man of honour would think himself happy, when he finds himself robbed of his honesty and virtue, though he is, in the mean time, really possessed of both: and it must be acknowledged by all, that a man of firm and unshaken virtue, would much sooner expose, or sacrifice, his life, than his reputation. I think, therefore, that those who are base enough to practise this kind of villainy, deserve much the same treatment as murderers; the abatement is only to be made because our reputation is sometimes retrievable, although our life is not so.

The next stage worth our notice whereon we discover him, is, in the capacity of a secretary of state to our present sovereign, when he began to be considered as chief minister. Indeed we have a great deal of room to think, that his influence

was very considerable in our councils all the time he was in employment; partly, because of his credit with the king; and, partly, because he occupied, at different times, during his administration, two of the most exalted offices under the government. I will not take upon me to ascertain what share of merit properly belongs to him from the measures and achievements of this glorious period; but, if we may believe his enemies, who liberally ascribe to him almost every transaction, I own, I cannot think him inferior to the favourite minister of this nation. The only abatement I have to make, is, upon the score of the late unpopular cyder act, which I heartily wish had never existed. It is true, that wise and resolute minister had contributed not a little to open the eyes of the nation, and to point out the most effectual way to reduce our enemies, and to bring them to reasonable terms; yet I think there is no inconsiderable share of merit due to one who could succeed him with equal reputation.

The first remarkable event we meet with during his administration, is, the reduction of Martinico, which was a conquest of the utmost importance to this nation, although we did not happen to retain it. As this blow was the last, so it was also as effectual as any that was given to the French during this war; I would not, however, be thought to magnify it to an importance beyond what it really deserves. I think Mr. P——t's conduct can never be justified for not making this place the object of his attention so soon as our sea-forces in the West-Indies were disengaged; to which he might have added those which were injudiciously sent for the reduction of Belleisle, together with as many more as would have been thought necessary: it is more candid to own this mistake, than to palliate or defend it with a flood of impertinence.

It was not long before the noble e—l, of whom I am speaking, took his station at the head of the Treasury ; which, it seems, gave no small offence to his predecessor, as well as to many more of his veteran adherents. This change in the ministry immediately gave rise to a kind of paper war, consisting entirely of a deluge of scurrility and nonsense ; and, amongst others, brought the celebrated Mr. W——kes and his North-Briton upon the stage ; whose conduct I shall consider more particularly in the sequel.

The reason for which the veteran minister, who had so long been first lord of the Treasury, resigned that office, was, it seems, because my lord B——te, at that time secretary of state, had not only opposed the continuance of the subsidy granted to Prussia, but also the motion made by him for obtaining two millions of money, by a vote of credit, to answer the unprovided and unforeseen exigencies of the war. A demand of this kind must appear, to every thinking man, in the highest degree extravagant and oppressive, even though the nation had been in a much better condition to grant it ; but it must still appear much more unreasonable, if we consider the immense debt we had already contracted, and the exorbitant taxes imposed upon almost every thing. From the whole tenor of that minister's conduct, upon this, as well as upon every other occasion, one would be apt to believe him much better calculated, by his extravagant disposition, to live among the inexhaustible mines of Potasi, than between the verdant and pasture-bearing hills of Great-Britain ; and, for my part, I freely own, I heartily wish him, were it only for his own satisfaction, waisted by a gentle gale into that region, where the most unbounded luxury of the minister is consistent with the good

of the state, or, rather, where it is conducive to it.

The discontinuance of our subsidy to Prussia was certainly a wise and prudent measure, and the event hath now proved it to be so beyond contradiction. Our treaty and alliance with that power was, from the beginning, a measure altogether indefensible, and reflects no great honour upon Mr. P—t's sagacity. Had half the sum expended this way been employed in the court of Petersburg, it would have been of infinitely greater service both with respect to Prussia and Great-Britain; and I am really ashamed that we should be so blind to our own interest, and to that of mankind, as not to do so; for it was very evident, that the king of Prussia was more than a match to the empress-queen unassisted; and, consequently, the war between these two contending powers would have been quickly decided, if the Russians had not divided his forces. The Russians manifestly acted upon no other principle but because they were subsidised by the courts of Vienna and Versailles, as appears from every part of their conduct, and particularly from their treating with us before we foolishly shifted sides, and chose an alliance with Prussia. By this means we might have easily succoured the king of Prussia, if that was really necessary, only by reducing the number of his enemies, and by converting them into auxiliaries to fight our own battles; and we did not want shipping to transplant them into Hanover, without giving offence to any power upon the continent. Indeed our war with France, and that of the king of Prussia with the empress-queen, had nothing common to both in them; and no man, I believe, is so foolish as to think that the interest of religion was either consulted or concerned in either: therefore



fore our connections with Prussia derived their existence, not from any relative concurrence of circumstances, which would have rendered our conduct impolitic and criminal if we had not done so, but from our imprudence and want of judgment. Our endeavouring to support the king of Prussia, in order to enable him to stand his ground against so many enemies, instead of reducing the number of those enemies, when we had it in our power to do so, was only adding fuel to the fire to make it blaze the more; which must inevitably be accompanied with a much greater destruction of mankind.

If it be said that we could not keep the French at bay upon the continent, without an alliance with Prussia; I answer, that such an assertion hath no foundation either in fact or in reason; for every one must allow, that a great deal less money, than the subsidy which we paid to that ally, might have easily procured for us elsewhere much greater assistance than what we derived from that alliance: or, admitting that this was the only method to secure the king of Prussia from being our enemy, which I very much question, unless he was equally blind with ourselves, an alliance with Russia, even then, would have been more for our advantage. But I have no more time to digress.

I will therefore only observe, that our withdrawing that subsidy, was not only prudent but also justifiable. I will not say that we had the same right to dissolve this, or any other treaty, as we had to make it; for that we certainly could not have, unless such a step be consistent, as all our actions ought to be, with justice or equity: but if, by experience, we are made to discover some unforeseen mischief arising to mankind, either from the natural tendency of a treaty which we have concluded,

cluded, or from the abuse of it on the part of the power in alliance with us, we have a most indubitable right to dissolve or discontinue such a treaty. I have already observed, that the king of Prussia was more than a match to the empress queen before he was attacked by the Russians, and therefore did not want any succours from Great-Britain, or from any other power whatsoever ; but, when his enemies were multiplied, we thought proper to grant him a subsidy, in order the better to enable him to stand his ground, thus attacked on all sides ; which we did only for want of discernment enough to do better : but the Russians and Swedes having withdrawn their forces, he was once more left at full liberty to defend himself against that enemy alone to whom he was before greatly superior ; and, consequently, our subsidy ought to have immediately ceased with the cause for which it was at first granted : we would therefore have been wanting to ourselves, if we did continue to pay a subsidy for which there was no necessity, especially when the cause for which such a subsidy was granted had totally ceased : and no man, I think, will be so unreasonable as to deny that our own interest ought, at least, to be allowed an equal share of attention with that of our neighbour.

From this fair and impartial state of the case, it will appear, very evidently, that the conduct of the late lord-treasurer, in withdrawing the subsidy which we had for some years paid to Prussia, was altogether prudent and equitable : and his opposing the motion made by his predecessor, for obtaining two millions upon a vote of credit, will appear equally honest and laudable, whether we consider the state of the nation, or the cruel wantonness of the proposal itself, when there was no apparent necessity for the sum of money in question. Therefore

fore the resignation of that minister can, with no degree of justice, be supposed to proceed from an opposition made to any salutary or patriot measures proposed by him ; but, on the contrary, his resignation appears to be altogether the effect and consequence of an opposition made to him when his schemes were very pernicious, and totally inconsistent with the national interest.

When this high office became vacant by the voluntary resignation of the late occupier, his majesty, no one will deny, had a natural right to fill that vacancy by the promotion of whomsoever he should think proper. That my lord B—te should accept it was certainly an act of his own ; but I humbly presume that his m—sty is very far from being passive in his measures, especially when they respect matters of this kind ; for I am sure I cannot perceive that he hath given the world any reason hitherto to think so ; and, therefore, I shall take it for granted, that this further promotion of the e——l of B——te was the meer choice and will of his royal master. Indeed, if his conduct had given the k—g so much satisfaction during his minority, and as he had also experienced a very recent instance of his honesty and fidelity, with respect to the affair whereof I have just now made mention, I am not at all surprized that his m—sty should make choice of him : and I verily believe, that, had I been in similar circumstances, in a case which related to me, I should have acted exactly in the same manner. It is extreme folly to alledge either inexperience or incapacity as an objection to the promotion of the noble lord of whom I am now speaking ; for, with respect to the latter, his conduct had already given ample evidence of his sufficiency ; but, with respect to the former, it is an objection that stands in equal force against every  
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one besides the person who had just then resigned, and who could not be supposed to have acquired his abilities this way by a miracle, any more than other people: but the knowledge of common forms belonging to any office, is so easily acquired, that I would rather look upon that man, who is incapable of such a *profound science*, as altogether incapable of any office at all. The most superficial understandings have been ever found the most punctual and exact in empty and unmeaning ceremonies or trite forms, that they commonly forget the essentials of good-breeding; while a man of good sense would be perfectly ashamed to see so much time lost in matters so insignificant. Indeed the most profound adepts this way are seldom or never capable of any thing more; for they dwell entirely upon those rules which were only intended for a supplement to the understanding where it was deficient; but are never able to comprehend the nature and meaning of things in their full extent.

But, supposing a person in office should, at his entrance into it, be really ignorant of some things relative to the drapery of it, (if I may be allowed the expression) it is certainly no more than what happens every day upon a change of office or upon the first admission into one.

I would farther observe, with respect to the perpetual bustle and clutter that hath been always made in the world concerning statesmen, their profound abilities, their immense sagacity and penetration, together with many other matters of great importance, that all this is nothing more than a meer chimera: although it is a station which affords ample room to employ the most extensive talents; yet I will venture to affirm, that there is no such absolute necessity of a sublimity of  
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understanding of more than ordinary size to discharge the duties of it with credit and reputation : nor is it left upon record, that those who have distinguished themselves this way were any thing more than men of ordinary capacities and plain understandings. The subtlety of artful knaves hath frequently assumed the appearance of much knowledge and profound wisdom ; but hath ever, in the result of things, proved extremely injurious to society : but this kind of low cunning is an infallible mark of a narrow capacity ; for it reaches no farther than to assume and wear the appearance of knowledge and wisdom. Although the empire of Great-Britain, together with its dependencies, requires as much thought and attention for the proper government of it as any whatsoever, yet I am satisfied, that, if our ministers should only apply themselves honestly to the following plain maxims, namely, to encourage population, agriculture and commerce, and invariably attend to the improvement and increase of our navy, being at the same time properly vigilant with respect to the motions and transactions of our neighbour nations ; to which we may add an inviolable regard to the preservation of our constitution in church and state, together with a due attention to religion and morality ; did our ministers, I say, properly apply themselves to these things, I can discover no reason why our government and empire should not last as long as that of China, or any other, however durable, throughout the known world. It requires no superior talents to do all this, nor no great discernment to distinguish and pursue the best and most effectual method to accomplish any thing ; for there never will be wanting projectors enough in every branch of business, or useful knowledge, if they are duly encouraged and re-

warded: and, to tell the plain truth, the reputation which the popular Mr. P---t hath acquired, is chiefly, if not altogether, owing to his spirit and resolution in pursuing those measures, which all men of sense have ever looked upon as the only means whereby to promote the true interest of this nation; for he regarded continental connections, the destructive legacy of king William, no farther than as they were of service to secure the principal object in view; or, rather, he intended no more by it although he greatly overshot the mark: and, were I to compare his administration, in every particular, with that of the late lord-treasurer, the series of blunders that were committed during the former, would force me to pronounce the latter infinitely superior; for to this I hardly meet with a single objection, considered only with respect to the management of the war and conclusion of the peace.

Although empires have been often enlarged and extended by means of war, bloodshed, and rapine, yet none hath ever been known to flourish, but such only as were properly careful to cultivate the arts of peace. If a nation is once become more fond of war than is necessary for its own defence and protection, it seldom or never fails to prove, sooner or later, its final ruin and destruction. We ought, therefore, to be perpetually studious and diligent to cultivate the arts of peace, but not forgetting those of war; rather seeking to remove the cause of it, by being always upon our guard, than desirous of frequent ruptures with our neighbours. An honest and well-meaning man would make it continually his business to support the credit, and secure the prosperity and tranquility, of his country, by a due attention to these unalterable rules of sound policy, instead of being always desirous  
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and ready to trick, or oppress and irritate his neighbours ; and, although an universal peace and quiet can never be expected, while any power acts contrary to these rules ; yet, if due care be taken to be always ready and prepared to suppress the insolence of it in the first instances, it would be no difficult matter to secure almost an universal tranquillity. This is no utopian nation, and every man acquainted with history will allow, that remissness, dissipation, and neglect, more frequently prove the cause of war, than either avarice or ambition ; for the effects of these would be almost totally restrained, if the neighbour nations were industrious and vigilant ; and those who have excelled most in this respect, have ever been the most distinguished for wealth, peace, and every other blessing.

From whence I would infer the folly of those who imagine, that nothing less than the most exalted understanding is sufficient to qualify one to be a statesman, a legislator, or prime-minister: whoever unites an honest heart, a constant and regular application to business, to a plain understanding, will never fail to adorn that or any other province connected with the management of human affairs. As exalted geniuses, and extraordinary talents, appear but seldom ; so they are but seldom wanted : the wisdom of Providence hath so ordered things, that we can never lack a sufficient supply of those whose parts are equal to every station for which they are wanted, if they but take due care to cultivate those talents of which they are possessed.

I have taken the more pains to explain this matter, with a view to rectify the mistaken notions of the unthinking multitude, who are apt to imagine, that a minister of state should be possessed of something like an infallibility of understanding ; and,

in order to reconcile them to the good man, and to prefer him, in whatever station, to a wicked one, although his capacity and parts were superior. These cannot profit or be of service to the world, if they either remain unimproved, or are employed for other purposes than those for which they were designed by nature: but an honest man, possessed of a tolerable share of useful knowledge, is always most suitable for the management of human affairs, which really have nothing extraordinary in them, unless it be to those who are unacquainted with almost every thing; for the circle of human actions hath varied but very little thro' the course of several thousand years: and, if I did not deviate too far from my subject, I could easily prove, that very enterprizing geniuses are, in many respects, extremely improper to be entrusted with the chief government of national affairs; because, what appears to others to be attended with insurmountable difficulties, and perhaps is really so, is too often seen by these knights errant in philosophy, through a different medium from that through which others behold it: they at once grasp the old world and the new, and frequently fetch materials from either extremity of the earth, and unite them to form one favourite scheme; and thus believing all things as practicable in the accomplishment as they are easy in the conception, they may involve a whole nation in unpremeditated ruin. It is not, therefore, by any means, desirable, that a king, or a chief minister, should soar, in what we call the gifts of nature, beyond the common level of mankind.

I will not pretend to say, that the noble lord of whom I am speaking, is possessed of parts superior to those of many others, who have been equally studious to cultivate them; but I will venture to  
affirm



affirm, from the sample he hath given us of his capacity and conduct, while in employment, that he is equal to any the most important stations: for, if he hath displayed abilities adequate to the difficulties which always occur in the time of war, and upon the conclusion of a peace, I look upon it as ample evidence, from whence to infer the sufficiency of his capacity to equal and surmount the difficulties of a more calm and tranquil period.

I have already observed, that public affairs were conducted with the same spirit and prudence, during this noble lord's administration, as they were during that of Mr. P—t. The Spanish war was declared speedily after that gentleman's resignation, and was conducted, through the whole course of it, so as to preclude all manner of cause for cavil or objection. It is true, our court took a great deal more pains to evade a war with Spain, than was necessary or consistent with sound policy; for, where-ever a design to disturb the peace is discovered, it is both foolish and dangerous to waste much time in fruitless attempts to accommodate matters, as it will only give the enemy longer time to prepare for a more obstinate and bloody war: if, after some advances are made towards a pacification, all offers are rejected, both wisdom and sound policy should direct us to exert our utmost efforts, without loss of time, to render such a design abortive, and to suppress it before it is ripened for execution, and become altogether dangerous. But, for this mistake, Mr. P—t was equally culpable with the rest of the ministry, because he knew very well the insolence of the Spaniards towards us, as also their chicane concerning the treaty lately concluded with France; yet this was not deemed sufficient to justify a rupture with them,

them, till he had received some private intelligence which he did not think proper to communicate to the council ; and it was upon the strength of this private intelligence that he confessedly acted.

But it must be granted, that this war, when declared, was conducted as much to the honour and advantage of England, as any which this nation hath ever undertaken. Had there been any grounds for accusation against the ministry upon the score of some failure in the management of it, or for some other abuses of which they had been guilty, the nation might have been allowed to regret the succession of her favourite minister, and to seek his restoration by addressing his ministry in a dutiful and becoming manner upon that account ; but, when no such thing appeared, her complaints were as inexcusable and criminal as they were without cause. Therefore, as the ministry were not accused of misconduct in their management of the war, and as there was no just grounds, as I can discover, for such an accusation, had they been charged with any, I shall wave entering into a particular examination of this matter, and shall proceed to enquire into the conduct of Mr. W---kes, as author of the North-Briton.

This paper made its appearance in the world very soon after the e---l of B---te was appointed first lord of the Treasury. While he was secretary of state, he was not attacked in public, although his influence in our councils must have been nearly, if not altogether, the same as after his promotion to this department ; and, if his influence was the same, there was nothing to be dreaded more upon account of his occupying one station than another, as both were equally connected with the management of public affairs. The cause, therefore, of this

this most illegal and rude attack, must have derived its existence from his promotion to be lord-treasurer in the room of his late predecessor.

Before I proceed, it may be proper to consider the nature of the liberty of the press, and how far it should extend. Every one who hath just notions of liberty, must allow, that it consists, at least partly, in a freedom to tell or publish the truth without reserve. If this natural right is taken away by arbitrary means, the very essence of liberty must be thereby totally abolished; for, were the king, in conjunction with his ministry, to form the most pernicious design imaginable, such as the entire and absolute subversion of our most excellent constitution, or some other scheme equally destructive and dangerous (if any one besides can be supposed to be so) to the common rights and liberties of mankind; and, were they, at the same time, to constitute themselves sole judges of what part, if any at all, of their design is proper to be made public, as also of what part of it is proper to be concealed from the world; every one, I think, must allow, that this very act would amount to nothing less than a total extirpation of all liberty. Were the people denied any farther information of the nature of their situation and circumstances, of what they are to expect in consequence of some transactions now in agitation, or, rather, of what was transacting, they could not be certain, one moment, but that some schemes were hatching for the total abolishment and destruction of whatever is dear to them: and, indeed, almost any thing may be done, by means of a numerous army, at the close of a war, or at some other juncture when the military forces are very powerful. But, if these designs are once made public, or any steps which may be taken previous to the execution of such designs, there is not  
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much to be dreaded; for we can hardly doubt but that a people, whose birth-right and boast is freedom, will always interpose in a manner suitable to the necessity or extremity to which they are reduced. Liberty is, indeed, every man's birth-right, and what none can be robbed of without an open violation of the natural and common rights of mankind: and a member of parliament, as also every other member of a community, hath an undeniable and natural right to lay before the public the measures of the ministry in their full extent, as far as they relate to the community; and, indeed, nothing should be transacted in private, excepting only such matters as concern warlike expeditions against an open enemy, or some other affairs of that nature: but this should be done in the plainest and most simple narrative, without adding or diminishing the least circumstance from fact and truth: the strictest justice should be observed with respect to each of the persons concerned in every transaction, without any attempt to blacken the character, or to extenuate the guilt, of any man: an inviolable regard should be had to the most minute particulars relative to every transaction, as being frequently the best means to enable the public to judge how far such measures, if put in execution, may be useful or detrimental to them: but this should consist only of a minute and impartial relation of meer matter of fact, without any comment or explanation, as it might be apt to mislead the understanding and prejudice the judgment; and that, perhaps, in the most entire opposition to truth and reason. Thus far extends the natural liberty of the press, which ought to be held sacred and inviolable.

But, when this liberty is abused, and the press is made only the common vehicle of calumny, scandal



dal and falshood, the law is open, and the offenders may be brought to justice. There can be no essential difference between slander communicated by word of mouth, and industriously propagated from unjustifiable or base motives, and that which proceeds from the press; the latter being only the most effectual way to publish it: and, as any man may be called to an account for reporting or spreading malicious rumours, to defame or prejudice another's reputation; so, with equal justice, may any man be punished, according to the nature of his crime, for printing or publishing groundless or malicious reports and forgeries, which are of the like nature or tendency. It must be allowed, indeed, that to print and publish falshoods, or slander, is a stronger evidence of the wickedness and malignity of the author's design, than the barely reporting or propagating it by word of mouth; and, consequently, the law hath wisely ordained more severe punishment to restrain the practice of it. This, therefore, being the case, it is evidently impossible, that the liberty of the press can be productive of any bad or dangerous consequences; and it appears, at the same time, that an abridgment, or a total abolishment, of this liberty, would strike at the very essence and root of all liberty.

It will be alledged, perhaps, that many scurrilous and inflammatory invectives may be thrown out, by means of the press, to prejudice and incense the minds of the people, to the great detriment and injury of a man's reputation; and that without the reach of the law. Indeed, supposing it were so, I cannot look upon that as sufficient cause for abridging or abolishing the liberty of the press. It should be remembered, upon all occasions, that, since human laws are generally incom-

petent for the entire removal of the evils which they are designed to remedy, all we can do is, to proceed only in our attempts to redress them, so far as we can safely do so without injuring the essence of what we seek to preserve. Besides, I am far from thinking, that any great prejudice can arise to any man's character merely from ill-natured reports and invectives, which do not fall under the cognizance of the law; for all men of sense will easily perceive, that they are the detestable offspring of malice and envy: the mob are but the tools of wicked and designing men, who alarm them on purpose to favour their pernicious schemes, and are only self-agents when their own sufferings force them to complain: but are never known to be the ring-leaders in fomenting disturbances merely from an apprehension of something future. There is nothing, therefore, to be feared from an imposition upon those whose understanding is not very capable of distinguishing the marks and tokens of truth and falsehood; for the ineffectual fibs and impotent lyes of a pamphleteer, or a newspaper, will never be so much as taken notice of by the populace, if they are not first believed and handed about for truth, by the more intelligent part of the species: and, indeed, supposing these stories were believed till time and the conduct of the accused should undeceive the world, the belief of them would be of no dangerous consequence; because, were they any thing more than trifles, the author and publisher of them might be legally brought to condign punishment.

But the proper use to be made of the liberty of the press, is only to inform the nation of the transactions of the legislature, or of the measures taken by them, wherein the interest and welfare of the community is concerned. If these appear equita-  
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ble, expedient, or necessary, they will undoubtedly meet with no interruption from the public ; but, if they are not so, the nation would be wanting in the discharge of those duties which she owes to herself, if she did not properly represent the grievances whereof such measures are naturally productive, and lay them before the legislature, together with such information as may be necessary for the instruction of those whose business it is to redress them ; for it is impossible for any man to foresee every grievance that may arise to the community from any public business upon its first formation ; and therefore it is a duty incumbent upon it, to give the legislature such information as may be necessary for their instruction in their future proceedings.

But Mr. W—kes hath acted, all along, in direct opposition to the method here laid down ; and, instead of giving the world an impartial account of the conduct of the ministry, his whole aim seems to be, to inflame the minds of the people, and to prejudice them, more particularly, against both the person and conduct of the late lord-treasurer : his chief objection to him is, his being a native of North-Britain ; and this he urges with so much seriousness and gravity, that he hath been able to prevail with many of the more ignorant and prejudiced part of the nation to believe, that there is a certain province, or, rather, a certain spot of ground, within his majesty's dominions, where it is really an indelible crime to be born : but this is so ridiculous and insignificant an objection, notwithstanding his loudest vociferations to the contrary, that I cannot think it deserves, by any means, the trouble to confute it : but I think, indeed, the conduct of those who have the impudence to urge it, excepting only in cases of ignorance or insanity,

altogether shameful and criminal. They do not chuse to consider, nor reflect, upon the condition of the Irish, who, although they are as much entitled to dignities and preferments as those who happen to be born within the precincts of our great metropolis, are perpetually deluged with the successive cargoes of retainers which pour in upon them with every fresh lord-lieutenant, and whose views are only to seek preferments. The natives of that kingdom very seldom rise to any places of profit which are thought to be worth an Englishman's acceptance; and the protection of their liberty and property is all whereof they can boast, for dignities and preferments seem chiefly to fall to the lot of another nation. Indeed, in a large empire, these are evils which cannot entirely be remedied, as those who live nearest the court will always stand most in the way to preferment, because they have more opportunities to insinuate themselves into favour: but yet I think that the outskirts and extremities of an empire should, at least, be allowed to share equally with any other part of it, when they happen to be in the way and equally qualified for preferment.

But, though this be really the case, with respect to Ireland, yet we never hear of any complaints on this side the water upon that account: our nobility and gentry seem to be fully satisfied, that there is not the least hardship in monopolizing almost all preferments and places of profit to themselves, as well in that kingdom as at home: but if any one, that happens to be born without the bills of mortality, or, at least, without the verge of a certain number of counties, within the island of Great-Britain, should offer himself a candidate for preferment, the place of his nativity is, in their opinion, allowed to be cause enough to disqualify him



to hold it, notwithstanding any personal merit whereof he may be possessed. I would have all such expert casuists observe, that, as courts have always some sinecures belonging to them, it would be but prudent to behave with gentleness and moderation towards every province of our glorious and extensive empire; lest, in time, they should be tempted to revolt, that they may enjoy those honours, to which they are naturally entitled, as well as we do at present: and it is certainly more worthy and becoming the dignity of our nature to hold our fellow-subjects and neighbours in the cords of love than in chains of iron, were it ever so much in our power to do so.

For my part, I freely own, I could never discover any reason why a North-Briton should be deemed incapable of employment meerly upon the account of his being so, any more than him who was born within the precincts of St. James's, or in some other place equally allied to the court: and, if the North Britons were thought to be of so much service to us in every part of the globe, where we were pleased to send them during the war, it is very strange and unaccountable that they should be deemed our enemies if they venture to approach the verge of St. James's. But the truth of the matter is, we would willingly accept of their services, in whatever capacity, if the perquisites connected with their station are not, in our humble opinion, too ample for a North-Briton, or, indeed, for any body but ourselves.

If my lord B—te, or any other lord, hath been guilty of abuses, or mal-practices, during his administration, I verily think the persons, who were well informed of the truth of it, should have immediately exerted themselves to bring him to justice, and to a public trial, where he might have an opportunity

portunity to clear himself if he were innocent. He hath been accused, I know, of having given commissions in the army to some particular favourites, although they were not of age to hold such commissions; if it is really true, I am sorry for it; but I do not find that any more than one instance of it hath been publicly quoted; and, if there had been more to be found, there would have been no pains nor trouble spared, I am satisfied, to make the discovery. But, admitting it were so, I see no reason why it should be deemed more criminal than the common practice of giving a pair of colours to meer infants: on the contrary, I think Mr. Elliot will be sooner of age for a captain's commission than a new-born infant for an ensigncy. But I declare myself no advocate for these sort of practices, but most sincerely wish, that no minister would give us any farther room for complaints of this kind. I cannot, however, think it a mark of honesty, or candour, in any one to strain at a gnat and swallow a camel, or to condemn in one man what would have been totally overlooked in another.

The late extension of the excise laws, by laying a new duty upon cyder, is almost the only objection I have to the administration of the late lord-treasurer. I sincerely wish that some other expedient had been thought upon to supply the present exigency without taking this unpopular step, especially as the nation had behaved so nobly during the whole course of the war. It must be granted by all, that every extension of the excise laws is an incroachment upon the liberty of the subject, and should therefore be entirely avoided. A little more thought and deliberation might easily have enabled the ministry to discover some other method to answer their purpose, which would have been perfectly

perfectly consistent with the preserving of liberty inviolable. This, I know, may be done, notwithstanding the multitude of taxes with which the nation is burdened. But, let the difficulty be what it will, to invent such a tax as would have been least injurious as well as least burthensome to the public, yet, it must be granted, every one which appeared to infringe liberty ought to have been totally rejected. But, were I to hazard my own private opinion, I cannot help thinking but this bill would have been immediately dropped upon the first remonstrances the nation would have made against it, if it had not been for the unaccountable infatuation of a certain respectable body of people at that time; and, even as matters then stood, his m---ty's goodness, it seems, would have readily prevented its passing into an act, if it had not been too late to admit of a remedy that session: but this grievance we hope to see redressed upon the first sitting of the parliament.

My lord B---te hath also been taxed with recommending Mr. Johnson, together with a few more gentlemen of merit, and well known in the literary world, to our most gracious sovereign, as persons worthy his majesty's most peculiar favour. This is a charge which, I am sure, will be so far from doing injury to his lordship's reputation, that, on the contrary, it will do him as much credit and honour as any transaction in which he hath been concerned, next to that of making the late glorious peace. The name of Johnson will be respected by posterity, when that of W--kes will be either totally forgotten, or, at most, only numbered with the seditious l-b-ll-rs of his king, and the common retailers of *party* scandal. If it is natural for every man, but an Atheist, if such a monster can exist, to be desirous not only of an immortality in the life

to come, but also of a perpetual memorial in this, I cannot possibly conceive how the name or glory of George the Third will be known a few generations hence, if his reign is altogether destitute of men of letters; and I am sure the celebrated geniuses, which flourished in the Augustan age, add more lustre to that period than all the heroic deeds of the emperor, or, if you please, of all the Cæsars; nor would the latter have been known to us, if it had not been for the former: and, as Mecenas will be esteemed where-ever the works of Horace or Virgil are known, so will the name of Bute be co-eval with that of Johnson.

But, with respect to Mr. W--kes's conduct in this affair, I shall farther observe, that, if he had done no more than to lay before the public an impartial account of the transactions of the ministry, without the least deviation from truth and fact, and without the least addition or comment, he would have justly deserved the name of a vigilant patriot, and the character of an honest man: and a ministry, who had the good of their country at heart, would have been so far from being offended at him, that they would rather have esteemed it an honour done to them, as they would have been very well satisfied, that the more their alertness in the common cause, and their invariable attachment to the public interest, was known, the more their glory and reputation would be established, and the more deeply their country's love and veneration for them would be rooted: and, if the people should perceive any cause to be apprehensive that some inconvenience would arise to them from such measures as were pursued; or should perceive that any of the ministry were guilty of any mal-practices, or abuses, they might have addressed their sovereign, in a dutiful and becoming



ing manner, for a removal of such a minister from his councils, or, at least, for a redress of their grievances. But, if this should not have been found sufficient, and the minister's conduct should have appeared so very exceptionable and criminal, as to call loudly for a public examination before a proper jurisdiction, Mr. W--kes, or any other member of parliament, might have impeached him in the House of Commons, in order to bring him to his trial. This would have been a lawful method of proceeding, and what every honest man would have approved; nor would the minister have had any cause to complain, as an opportunity would have been thereby given him to acquit himself of the charge laid against him; and, if he should prove really innocent, his character and reputation would afterwards shine with double lustre; and shame and confusion would be the portion of his enemies, if their accusation of him appeared to be the effect of malice or prejudice. This, or some other lawful and equitable method, is what those ought to have pursued, who had any just cause for information or impeachment against him; but, if no such thing really existed, every honest man will readily allow, with me, that he ought to have been treated with the respect due to his merit, rank and station; or, at least, that he ought not to have been accused or molested.

But the conduct of Mr. W--kes hath been the reverse of all this; and the N--th-B--t-n, of which he is said to be the author, is a paper of such a nature as ought not to exist in a society; for it contains little or nothing more than meer scurrility and slander. A minister, or any one else, if it be necessary or expedient for him to do so, should do no more than barely to lay open his transactions before the public, without any addition or

comment; for it is by his actions only that every man must either stand or fall: and, if any man hath whereof to accuse him, or any other member of the community, he should deliver his evidence before a proper tribunal, or else should lay it before the public in the most plain and simple narrative. But, if any man is falsely accused in matters which do not come within the reach and cognizance of the law, that person hath undoubtedly a right to vindicate and clear himself, by exposing the insufficiency of the evidence brought against him, or the absurdity of the accusation itself, either in print, or by some other means equally effectual for his purpose. This was the case of the late lord-treasurer, and therefore he had an unquestionable right to pursue that method to vindicate himself to the public, which his enemies practised, and made use of, to defame and asperse him; he had a right, I mean, to do it through the same channel. But, on the contrary, if Mr. W--kes, or any one else, had whereof to accuse this noble lord, he ought to have proceeded in a judicial way to bring him to his trial, without practising every mean art and scandalous method to throw odium upon him, and to blacken his character.

The design of the a-th-r of the N--th-B--t-n seems to be nothing else but to mob the lord-treasurer at once from the board at which he presided, and from his majesty's councils; and, if practices of this kind are approved of by the public, and are allowed to be honest and laudable, I do not know what, with equal reason and justice, may not be deemed so: and I must confess, that a people, so much lost to reason and every other principle which ought to influence mankind, as to countenance these vile practices, are much fitter

to live in a state of anarchy and confusion than under a well regulated government, and under the fatherly protection of a mild prince. To pretend that the loud acclamations for W--kes and liberty, together with all the encouragement that hath been given to the author of the N--th-B--t-on, were merely an act of the populace, is extreme folly; for the noble p-rf-n-ges who were his abettors are too well known; and I verily believe, that nothing but the outrage committed against his m---ty's crown and dignity would have made them ashamed of patronizing the author of these pernicious l-b-ls. I could not, I protest, discover any thing in the N--th-B- t--n, which made so free with the K--g's Speech, but the most illiberal scurrility and intolerance; which could tend to nothing less than to alienate the affections of the subjects from their sovereign, by rendering him not only ridiculous, but also by representing him as the patron of falsehood and untruth. If Mr. W--kes is really so honest and vigilant a patriot as his abettors would fain represent him, I would ask these gentlemen, why so much virtue should lay dormant until this time, when opportunities could never have been wanting at any time to exert it? If the N--th-B--t-n had never made it's appearance in the world, we should never have known, perhaps, whether the author of it was really a friend or an enemy to his country; which is a point now settled, I think, beyond all contradiction. I shall therefore leave him, or whoever else the author of that f-d-t---s l-b-l is, to that law and justice which he hath so insolently and shamefully trampled upon.

As this work was undertaken entirely with a view to open the eyes of the public, and to enable them to discover the truth and their own interest,

I shall now proceed to make a few short observations upon the peace lately concluded : but, before the merit or demerit of it can be rightly understood, it will be necessary to examine wherein the strength and opulence of a nation really consist ; and, when this point is settled, we shall be better able to discover how far this peace appears calculated for the national interest and public good. We are taught, both by reason and experience, that the strength and opulence of a nation entirely consist in the number of people to be found in it, in their application to agriculture, and in the extent of their trade and commerce. The strength, opulence, and reputation of a people will always sink or rise in the same degree as these maxims of sound policy are regarded and attended to by them. Without people, the land must naturally become wild and barren : without agriculture, the few, or many, that dwell therein, must become wretched and miserable for want of sustenance, unless they procure a supply by means of trade, which still supposes that agriculture must be somewhere attended to and encouraged ; and, without manufactures, trade and commerce cannot be supported, the necessaries of life cannot be obtained ; agriculture itself must fail, and two thirds of a nation must sink into indolence and sloth for want of employment, and perish for want of sustenance, as they will be destitute of all honest means whereby to procure it ; because it would be impossible for them to find employment wherewith to retaliate the toil and labour of those, to whom the business of agriculture properly belongs. In a word, there is so close a connection between every branch of business wherein mankind is concerned, that one alone cannot be properly cultivated without a proportionate regard to the whole. It is true, indeed,

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one nation may cultivate one branch of business, another may cultivate some other branch of it, and so may a third and a fourth ; but, when these several commodities or manufactures are applied to their respective uses, the surplus in one nation must go to supply the defect of that commodity in another, and so must that of each of them reciprocally ; by which means they may all be supplied according to their several wants and necessities : but, in this case, many nations are required to form one complete body ; and, if any of them is not able to spare so much of that commodity which it cultivates, as will be sufficient to purchase as much of those in which it is deficient as is necessary for its use, the ballance of trade will be against it, and it must, in process of time, be reduced so low as not to be able to supply its own necessities. Hence it appears, that a commonwealth which abounds most in every article of the necessaries of life is most perfect, and least dependent upon foreigners.

Silver and gold are only a kind of common measure, and no farther useful in trade than as they serve to pass for an equivalent where commodities cannot be bartered or exchanged ; and they are of use only where the commodity of one nation is of no service to another ; for then it is necessary that something should be allowed to pass for an equivalent or common measure between them : and this renders trade universal, and totally removes all difficulties, which would otherwise arise from the different nature of commodities which each country produces, and from the unequal demand for them among different nations. Indeed, this common measure is also of great service to individuals of the same nation, not only because it is more portable, but also because, by means of this, a man may  
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supply his wants and exigencies as it shall happen to be most convenient for him ; it being both allowed to pass equally among all, and capable of being divided into larger or smaller portions. It may likewise be preserved for any length of time, without diminishing in the value, on account of decays or waste ; and admits also of some other conveniences whereof few or no commodities, necessary for the use of man, are capable.

Hence it is evident, that silver and gold are of no farther use, with regard to trade, than as they serve for a common measure ; and the scarcity of these metals in the world, together with their natural purity, undoubtedly procured the preference of them for this purpose. Hence it appears, likewise, as I have observed before, that the more variety of commodities necessary for the use of mankind, may be procured within the limits of one kingdom or empire, the more compleat and perfect it must be, and the more independent it may live of its neighbour nations : but, while a community neglects any branch of business which may be cultivated within its own limits, and for the doing of which it hath proper means ; or doth not take sufficient pains to extend those branches of it which are already established, as far as they will admit, it must fall short, in that proportion, from being so powerful and opulent, as their situation enables them to be, if duly and properly improved. Thus, were England to produce no other commodities than those which are cultivated within the narrow limits of the republic of Venice or St. Marino, our conduct would be very culpable, or rather criminal, although their's might not be so, for as much as our situation affords almost numberless opportunities to cultivate, or manufacture, those commodities, or articles, which would not have been possible for them to do.

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But the wisdom of Providence hath so ordered things, that very few, if any, nations can live altogether independent of their neighbours, notwithstanding all their industry and invention: The variety of climates, of heats and colds, which are occasioned by the several positions, form, and revolutions of the spheres, must ever, with respect to this earth whereon we live, be productive of such diversity of soils, and consequently of commodities, as is sufficient to render foreign trade, in some measure, necessary, before we can properly supply ourselves with every article which may be expedient for us: and this wonderful diversity, in these respects, is, no doubt, intended to encourage all mankind to live in harmony and unity with one another, as they must be sensible how much it is in the power, even of the most distant kingdoms, to be of mutual service to each other.

What should principally engage the attention of those who hold the reins of government in every kingdom or empire, is, to encourage population, for as much as the strength of all nations must ultimately depend upon the number of hands to be found in them: although a country may be populous, and yet may easily be vanquished and subdued by the superior dexterity of an inferior power, yet, if the knowledge of the liberal arts, in their full extent, is cultivated in such a country, it may be as much superior to any other in force, as it exceeds it in the number of people to be found in it, especially if the site of it is equally advantageous: and it is for the support of men that agriculture, and every branch of business, is either immediately or ultimately designed; and these are, therefore, only secondary concerns, but yet should engage our attention in the same degree as they are necessary for this purpose: and, as it appears that

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mankind cannot be supported without the help of these means, it will be found necessary for us to regard them no less than the former; but we should still remember that our ultimate view is, to increase the number of people in the nation, and not the quantity of commodities which we possess, or to accumulate our heaps of gold and silver; for, without men, these become altogether useless and unprofitable.

If I had more time upon my hands, it could not be deemed foreign to my subject to take notice, in this place, of the late marriage-act, which the shrewd *wisecrackers*, who were then at the helm, thought proper to pass into a law. If my lord H—ck was the founder and patron of this famous act, I heartily wish, I confess, that he had confined himself a little more narrowly within the limits of that profession to which he was bred; wherein, it is said, he hath justly acquired as much credit and reputation as any of his cotemporaries; for, I am sure, Lycurgus, who lived so many thousand years ago, would have been ashamed of him as a law-giver: but the gentlemen of the law, to give them their due, very seldom consider any thing farther than as it regards their own province; for, while they are at much pains to stop up one gap, they frequently open one somewhere else a great deal wider than that which they have patched up; little thinking that human laws can never be adapted to remove all imperfections natural to the constitution of things in their present state; or, that all that the best and wisest legislator can do, is, of two or more evils, to chuse the least; and, indeed, it is the legislature that ultimately stands chargeable with every failure of this kind.

The only end which this law was intended to answer, was, to restrain the number of litigations  
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occasioned by the marriages of minors; or this, at least, is all that I could hear of. The patron of this act little thought, I believe, that the marriages which occasioned these litigations were not the effect of choice, but of parental compulsion, most commonly, if not always; and, if so, means might have been found to restrain them without so unlimited an extension of this law: and the law, indeed, is still deficient in this respect, as no provision is made to invalidate the compulsion of parents or guardians, which, however monstrous, hath been too often practised.

In a word, be the intention of this act what it will, I cannot, I must own, discover one single advantage arising from it; but, on the contrary, I can easily perceive that it hath contributed greatly to render matrimony inaccessible; the encouragement whereof, as I have already observed, is the first and principal maxim to be regarded in legislation and sound policy. Personal fitness hath been deemed, by all wise men, the only requisite to render the marriage state happy; for all other considerations, as far as they are desirable, are equally so in single life; and this qualification is chiefly regarded by those whose affections are not diverted to a wrong object, by their growing attachment to the world, and the common lectures of parents upon that subject: and, without this important requisite, every consideration, however otherwise desirable, is totally lost to the possessors, and, for want of it, they become as miserable as if no such advantages existed: but, on the contrary, where conjugal affection and mutual liking subsists, it seldom fails, not only to make every condition tolerable, if not happy, but also to produce those public as well as private virtues, industry and frugality; for that will be always in their power, and

is certainly one of the most effectual ways for them to express their esteem for each other: and surely no degree of affection can be supposed to exist where the care of a family is totally neglected.

To say that population, the great end of matrimony, would not be answered so well had they been at full liberty to marry without the consent of parents or guardians sooner than they are allowed by this act, is extreme folly, and is only an argument which befits the capacity of those who were the first founders of it. I am sure, if we were to examine by what means colonies came to multiply so fast in their infancy, we might easily discover, that their almost incredible increase is chiefly, if not altogether, owing to the early marriages of their young people, and partly too, perhaps, to their temperance and moderation; but the former is indisputably the principal cause of their increase: and, indeed, if they marry quite young, they may possibly escape those pernicious habits into which they too often fall. But, if it be objected that some would be so indiscreet as to marry before they were out of their apprenticeship, which must prove a great inconvenience to them. I answer, that it is altogether impossible to remedy all the indiscretions of mankind; but this is no such mighty grievance, as people are apt to imagine, for every child born into the world is a member of the community, and is at once entitled to parental care and to that of the public; and therefore, whenever the assistance of the community becomes necessary, it should be invariably granted, and, in the result of things, the advantage will be always in favour of the public: but matters would come to these extremities but very seldom; and though, by such an imprudent step, some of those, perhaps, who otherwise might have  
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been able to set up in business for themselves, would be thereby so much distressed in their circumstances as to be reduced to the condition of common journeymen ; yet this, with respect to the public, is no grievance at all. Besides, it would naturally quicken the attention of such persons, and urge them to double their diligence to become masters of their trade without loss of time, as they must easily see, that both themselves and their families must very soon depend thereon for a livelihood. So that, were this argument properly examined, I can easily perceive, that this supposed grievance would be so far from being a detriment to the public, that it would be rather an advantage to it.

I shall close my remarks upon this act with observing, that, were it a means to prevent the litigations complained of, the entire removal and abolishment of them is not a consideration worth taking the least notice of, when put in the scale against the lack of hands for trade and manufactories, as well as for all other purposes of a society or community. Before I dismiss the subject, I must beg leave to relate one instance of the many bad effects of this act which fell under my cognizance. The story I shall introduce is that of a girl of about eighteen, who had been out at service ever since she was capable of it, and was upon the point of marriage to one who had made proposals for that purpose ; but, as her father, a drunken wretch, was now living, his consent was necessary on account of the young woman's minority ; yet this could not be obtained, unless they would be at the expence of bribing him to grant it by giving him a suit of cloathes, which they did not think proper to do, as it would have tended to distress them too much, more particularly at that juncture ; and the event was, that they were called to distant situations, so

that, in process of time, the whole affair was dropped. Many more instances of this kind might be produced; and I am really afraid that, partly because of the late war, which hath already so much drained our men, and partly because of the numbers that will, from time to time, transplant themselves into our colonies, we shall not be able, in a few years, to find grooms enough for New-market, especially if we consider the annual increase of the business of that place, and the immense demand for prostitutes for the use of the nobility and gentry which resort thither; for I look upon all the young women which are applied for these purposes as no very fertile ones, and consequently the nation must be a sufferer in proportion to our home consumption this way.

I shall now proceed to take some notice of the next object which should engage the attention of a statesman; I mean agriculture. I need not tell any one, that, without proper regard to this, our lands will soon become wild and barren, and their natural fertility will be of no service to us. As we live by the fruits of the earth, so we ought certainly to take all requisite pains and care to cultivate them. Without due attention to this branch of our worldly concerns, we must be left to starve; for such is the present visible state of things. The necessities of life, properly speaking, consist only of food and raiment; to which the elegance of the present times hath added numberless embellishments. The former ought to be invariably attended to, and the latter should, by no means, be discouraged so far as they may contribute either to civilize mankind, or to furnish employment for those who may want it.

If we have a great surplus of corn, or of any other commodity necessary and useful for sustenance,  
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we may, by introducing new manufactories, and by extending those which we have, increase the number of people in the nation, and furnish them with employment, till our home consumption would, at length, become equal to the produce of our lands: and, if, notwithstanding our best efforts to do so, we have still some remainder left, we may sell it to foreigners if wanted. But it would be far more eligible to employ such number of hands in trade as would be equal to the produce, especially as our commerce with foreigners, in other articles, would be sufficient to introduce so much gold and silver into the nation as would be necessary for circulation in trade, and more would not be desirable; for, if we had much greater plenty of it than any other nation, the value of it would sink amongst us, and consequently, our manufactures and commodities would be found dearer in foreign markets than those sold by some of our European neighbours; which would inevitably prejudice us very much, because our real interest, considered as a nation, is, to fabricate manufactures, not only for our own consumption, but also for the use of as many foreigners as have a demand for those commodities which we cultivate: but it is evident that England produces annually a great deal more corn than is necessary for home consumption, and therefore we ought to introduce and establish more manufactories, as well as enlarge those which we have; and we should, particularly, endeavour to fabricate in our own nation whatever articles we are now forced to buy of foreigners; by which means further employment would be found for a great number of hands.

But, although we have much room to enlarge and improve our manufactories at home, yet this should not be deemed a sufficient reason for not  
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extending our possessions upon the continent of America, as it will be a means to open a new scene for trade ; for, though they may have corn sufficient to supply their own exigencies, yet they will always want a great number of European commodities, wherewith it will be in our power to supply them : therefore, the more of that continent is peopled, the greater will be the demand there for European commodities, and the more materials will they be able to furnish us with for the enlargement of our manufactories. Thus we see, that, the more extent of ground we have to supply us with sustenance, the greater in proportion will be the demand for that other chief branch of the necessaries of life, raiment and cloathing ; upon the supposition, I mean, that the former advantage is properly cultivated.

Instead of proceeding to a particular consideration of this last mentioned branch of business, I shall only take notice of it under the general notion of trade, as it may happen to fall under my future examination : and it is altogether needless to shew the necessity or utility of it either to Europeans or Canadians.

Now, with respect to the peace lately concluded, the question is not, whether it would have been better for us to retain all our acquisitions or not, for that is pretty clear, although not quite so obvious as is commonly imagined ; but the question is, first, whether, according to our situation at that time, we should have rather prolonged the war, in hopes of a more advantageous peace ? and, secondly, whether the peace lately concluded be the most advantageous that could then be obtained ; and, whether our choice of acquisitions to be retained were the most eligible we could have made ?

With

With regard to the first query, I need not take much pains to shew, that peace is at all time preferable to war, and to be forwarded as much as possible from a principle of humanity ; and, that it is a duty incumbent upon all men to make peace with their enemies, as soon as they can secure to themselves a fair foundation for a safe and lasting one ; for this is evident to every man whose ambition and avarice hath not altogether got the ascendant of his reason. I shall therefore proceed to examine our situation, and that of our enemies, when the preliminaries were signed. We had then almost totally vanquished the French in every quarter of the globe ; and it is more brief to mention what they had still left, than all which they had lost.

They were, in a manner, confined to the limits of the kingdom of France, as it now stands, in Europe ; they had little besides Hispaniola left to them in any other part of the world ; they had, at least, nothing worth my taking notice of : and yet these are, in a manner, the only enemies, when they are so, from whom we have any thing to fear.

Their condition was, therefore, almost at the lowest ebb to which we could have reduced them ; and, if they should have thought proper to continue the war for two or three years more, they could not have been much hurt by it, for it would have only stopped them, for that space of time, from recommencing trade. They had well-nigh lost all footing in Germany ; and, if they did but retire into the limits of their own dominions, they might have been perfectly at rest on that side, for we would never have molested them. It would have been extreme folly for us to have carried on war where we could have expected nothing to re-

compence the loss of men and the expence which we must have been at in the prosecution of it : therefore we should have never thought of pushing on the war into the French dominions, unless we would have done so to oblige them to withdraw their forces from Portugal ; but their usual fidelity upon all occasions would never have induced them to urge matters, in favour of their allies, any farther than would have just served to amuse them, as their prospect of advantage from that quarter could not have been very important ; and, by keeping their forces upon their frontiers, they might have easily subjected us to the necessity of maintaining the same number of troops to watch their motions, as it would have been always in their power to make irruptions into Hanover whenever they perceived that we were off our guard. They would have sustained very little loss from this kind of war, because what money they had would only circulate among themselves. It is true, they would have been forced to sustain a great number of idle hands, but that is no more than what will always happen in time of war. Something like this they certainly would have done if we were found fully determined to make no concessions.

The issues of war are as doubtful as any thing that falls under our observation ; and, although they were reduced to this miserable condition, yet we do not know but that something might have turned out in their favour within the space of three years, which would have enabled them to make very nearly, if not altogether, as good a peace as what they have now done. A great mortality among our troops, for whole armies have sometimes been totally swept away by diseases, or some such unforeseen disaster might have happened, which might have made us as sick of the war as our enemies ;



mies ; and, I am sure, should this have really been the case, our condition must unavoidably be a great deal worse than at present. It is true, bare possibilities ought not to have hindered us from making the utmost we could of those advantages which we had obtained ; yet a wise man would allow even distant considerations to have some degree of influence upon his present conduct. They would have been forced, without doubt, to buy their sugars of us, and some more commodities either of us or the Dutch ; yet their wines, and the surplus of some manufactures which they would have had to spare, would have enabled them to carry on the war, for several years, without much detriment, provided they confined their operations in the manner I have already described : and the immense number of captures their privateers were daily making upon us should not be quite overlooked ; for they would have been supplied, by this means, with a great quantity of various commodities, and sometimes, perhaps, with a little cash. Upon the whole, I cannot think they had much to fear from a continuance of the war ; and I do not doubt but that they would have pushed matters to the last extremity rather than submit to be altogether stripped of the r trade and commerce.

The Spaniards were another enemy we had to deal with ; and, had it not been for our alliance with Portugal, which was altogether inevitable, we might, perhaps, have been able to bring them very soon to the same condition with their allies the French : but it appears to me pretty plain, that, as circumstances then were, a farther continuance of the war with that nation would have proved extremely detrimental to us. We might have well-nigh stripped them of all their colonies, and yet, in the end, perhaps, would have been obliged to

restore them, retaining little or nothing more than we have been able to do in the short space of a twelvemonth. But, admitting we had been able to do so, such an event would have been so far from being advantageous and beneficial to us, that, in all probability, it must, in a short time, have proved fatal to the British empire. This, to some, may appear not unlike a paradox ; but, in the sequel, I intend to prove it to the conviction of every reasonable man : and, if this be really true, it would have been the greatest folly imaginable to run the risque of losing Portugal, and, at the same time, to put ourselves to the absolute necessity of making conquests upon the Spaniards elsewhere, in order to redeem it at the conclusion of peace.

There are some, I doubt not, hardy enough to maintain, not only an improbability, but even an impracticability, of conquering Portugal ; but I verily believe that the Portuguese hold neither ; or, if one may be allowed to judge from their conduct and demeanour while the storm threatened them, there is certainly very little room to think so. Where no demonstrative proof can be adduced, reason teaches us to incline to that side where we discover most probability ; therefore, in the present case, we must content ourselves with this kind of proof, since the argument will admit of no better : and those who are disposed to differ from me in their opinion, they have my leave to do so, if they think themselves the happier for it. Were I to bring this matter before some tribunal for a decision, I would chuse to state the case fairly and impartially before an experienced general in the service of a prince no way concerned in the event, or before any man of good sense and clear understanding that was equally unconcerned in the issue, and desire him to give his opinion upon it, and to declare

declare freely, and without reserve, what turn he thought things were likely to take. Like every other keen disputant, I am fully persuaded, that his decision of the case would be directly in my favour ; and I verily think that he would allow with me, that the number of British troops sent thither, together with the dastardly natives, would not have been able to save Portugal from falling entirely into the hands of her enemies.

I would have been as willing as any man to think that eight or twelve thousand English would have been sufficient to repel 35 or 40,000 French and Spaniards, if my reason would allow me to think so ; but we have no just foundation for such a supposition. If we throw the Portuguese into the scale, without taking notice of them, I do not think that we shall do them any injustice. The best accounts we have received, both from the French and the English, give us ample room to believe, that they are much of the same standard with the Hottentots with respect to fighting. Their cowardice and their treachery are sufficient proofs that they would have been but of very little service ; and, though, in time, they might have acquired some knowledge of military discipline, yet it is more than probable that their country would have been totally over-run and conquered long before. If it be alledged, that more troops would have been sent thither from England ; I answer, that we have no room to suppose but that the French and Spaniards would have been equally reinforced ; besides, the fate of that kingdom would have been decided, in all probability, within a very short time : and, should this unfortunately have happened to be the case before we had made any further conquests upon the Spaniards, our prospect would have been still worse. Therefore,

upon considering the above circumstances, together with many more which might be added, I think it appears pretty plain, that the only way we had whereby to save Portugal, was, by a speedy peace : and, to put ourselves to the necessity of conquering as many Spanish colonies as would have been deemed an equivalent, would not have been acting very wisely : for, surely, the numberless calamities which never fail to accompany war, call loudly upon every man to exert himself in the most vigorous and effectual manner to restrain it.

The sum of my reasoning, with respect to the continuance of the war, is this, that the French might have maintained it, on their part, for several years more, without receiving therefrom any considerable detriment ; and, that the Spaniards might have done the same, although, perhaps, very much to their prejudice ; but, that the continuance of it would have been a great deal more disadvantageous to the English than injurious to their enemies. This will appear still more evident when I come to consider that the retention of any Spanish colonies, besides that now ceded to us, would, in all probability, prove fatal to us.

I know it will be said, that the expences of the war might have been greatly diminished every year, as our operations would become more confined. I grant it ; but yet I am afraid that the expence of the war would, notwithstanding, have greatly exceeded all possible advantages we could have derived from it. What we would have expended in Germany, would have been totally banished out of the nation ; and, if the war did not occasion an additional demand for our commodities in Portugal, we would have got nothing by it ; but, on the contrary, we must have been losers by it in proportion to the number of our men that died there.

Indeed,



Indeed, we have too much room to believe, that the demand for British commodities, if any at all, would have been immensely less in that kingdom during the war; and therefore we must have been every way losers by it without any prospect of advantage. Indeed, should we have been able to increase our stock of gold and silver, by means of our seizure of the Spanish colonies, this would have been, perhaps, more pernicious than beneficial to us, as I intend to explain in the sequel.

Upon the whole, it appears, that a farther continuance of the war would have been detrimental to us, under the circumstances it was then carried on, unless it can be proved that a state of war with the French and Spaniards is most eligible and advantageous for England. Indeed, such a deportment towards our neighbours would have something barbarous and inhuman in it, unless they prove themselves to be unmanageable savages, whose conduct and cruelty towards us render such severity unavoidable: but since, notwithstanding their perpetual perfidy, they will, by intervals, allow us some breathing, it will be granted, I suppose, that a state of peace is preferable to a state of war, if the former can be obtained upon a solid footing, and upon terms apparently durable and advantageous; and therefore, if it appears, upon a farther examination of this matter, that the treaty of pacification lately concluded, is, in all respects, competent for these ends, it will be granted, I presume, that we are now in a better condition than that in which we could have been through a farther continuance of the war.

Before I proceed I must beg leave to make some general observations, which will tend, in some measure, to enable my reader the more clearly to understand what I am going to say. I have already

ready remarked that gold and silver are no farther of use, with respect to trade, than as they serve for a common measure to facilitate the sale of all manner of commodities. It is not material whether a nation hath much of them or not, provided there be enough to circulate in trade without subjecting a society to the necessity of coining them into pieces which are too small for use: for a great inconvenience may arise from this circumstance; as, for instance, if our gold was reduced into shillings, and our silver into pence, such pieces would be found too diminutive for use; and our quarter guineas are partly so already. But this evil might be remedied by substituting some other metal, of which there was sufficient quantity to be found in the nation, in the room of these, were it not upon the account of foreign trade, where some of them will be occasionally wanted: and, where there is waste, which will always happen in metal, although a nation were possessed of a sufficient quantity of them for present use, there ought to be an adequate supply: but, to corroborate and establish the truth of my observation, it must be evident to every one, that it is no way material, whether one can buy a beast in the market for twenty guineas or for ten, provided the same beast might be bought for half the money: or, if the same quantities of commodities can be purchased for five guineas in England for which one must pay ten in Portugal; a free-holder in England, possessed of a hundred pounds a year, may live as well as one possessed of double that sum in Portugal.

But, if a nation can supply itself with gold and silver sufficient to purchase the necessaries of life from other countries, it never fails to sink into indolence and sloth. Whether this treasure is procured by war, like that of the old Romans; or  
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from the mines, like that of the modern Spaniards, is not material ; for the tendency that a superfluity of it hath to corrupt the morals of mankind, is always the same. If a person is possessed of ten or twenty thousand pounds, if he cannot procure food and raiment for it in his own country, he will, rather than labour for his livelihood, exchange his treasure for those commodities which he wants for his support, from whatever country he can procure them ; and those who are in possession of gold mines, will be always apt to sink into this habit of sloth and indolence, because they will always chuse to barter and exchange their treasure for the necessities of life, rather than labour to supply their own wants.

It is in vain to say that gold hath no quality, inherent in the nature of it, which tends more to corrupt the morals of mankind than any other metal, for that is easily granted ; but this consequence, especially of a superfluity of it, arises, not from any inherent quality, but from the value which is stamped upon it by all nations : and, as long as it is allowed to pass for a common measure or an equivalent for commodities, so long will a superfluity of it have this tendency of sinking a people into sloth and indolence. It is also equally vain to imagine, that, although it may have that effect upon one nation, things may be so managed in another, as totally to prevent the usual consequence from it. This is certainly a kind of insolence, if human nature is always found the same in all countries. Besides, a wise man would chuse to run no risques, although he might think that his prudence would bring him off something better than his neighbours, if there was no necessity for it, but more especially if there is no prospect of advantage in view.

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And, as there will be always a few nations in possession of gold mines, so there will be also many countries which must derive their resources of this commodity from these few original proprietors. The possession of these mines, as I have already observed, will be invariably attended with an universal indolence, and neglect of business among the possessors; and, consequently, there will be always a demand for useful commodities in those nations which abound with this treasure; and, as there will be always some countries to whom a certain quantity of it will be of service for the use of trade; so these countries will, of course, become the manufacturers, handicraftsmen, and caterers for the original proprietors of the gold mines. The first possessors of them will assume the air of gentlemen, thinking toil and labour beneath them; or, rather, will give into indolence and sloth, without any thought at all, following entirely the inclination and propensity of nature, which is very seldom fond of exerting itself much but when forced by necessity. Every other people must be active and laborious, in order to supply their own wants according to their respective ways of living, because they have not wherewithal to procure necessaries from other countries; and this will render them hardy, robust, and opulent. If his caterer fails the gentleman must starve, as being a perfect stranger to the ways and means whereby the necessaries of life are procured: but, were there no such things in existence as gold mines, or the airy proprietors of them, the industrious husbandman, or manufacturer, might live without being the worse for it.

Besides, as the number and increase of people must be, in some measure, regulated by the supply of necessaries to be found for them; so those,  
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who are forced to purchase almost every thing from their neighbours, and consequently live upon the superfluities of others, or as much only as they can spare for them, can have but a precarious maintenance ; and, as the produce of the mines will be always nearly the same, let the proprietors of them be few or many, so it will be their interest rather to discourage population than otherwise, because the fewer they are in number, the better supply there will be for each ; their abundance always depending upon the sum of money they have to purchase it with. But other nations, that live by their industry, find themselves the stronger, and more opulent, in proportion to the number of hands they employ ; and consequently esteem it the best policy to encourage population. They never find themselves clogged or impoverished by number, as they will always be able to furnish them with employment wherewith to earn their livelihood.

Having made these general observations, I shall now proceed to answer my second query ; namely, whether the peace lately concluded be the most advantageous that could be then obtained ; and, whether our choice of acquisitions to be retained was the most eligible we could have made ? These queries may appear, perhaps, at first sight, as somewhat different ; but, upon a closer examination, they will be found ultimately to be one and the same : but, if we would distinguish between them, we must confine the sense and meaning of the former, and allow it to contain no more than if we were to ask whether we could have retained more of our acquisitions than we really did ? If we take it in this sense, it is certainly a very difficult question, and I actually doubt, whether we have a man in the whole kingdom that can give a  
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proper solution of it. To do this would require a thorough knowledge of the disposition of the French court; and one must be able to tell, with more than mathematical accuracy, how far things would bear, and to what extent affairs might have been drawn without breaking up the congress; or how fine we could have spun our thread without breaking it. However, I must beg leave to suppose, that nothing was surrendered to them which we could have retained; and, that every thing was managed to the utmost advantage, according to the best of their knowledge and abilities who were employed in this negotiation, whether we mean our ministry or plenipotentiary: or, at least, I chuse to think so till I have sufficient evidence of the contrary; for I can never prevail with myself to condemn any man without evidence, because I look upon that as the height of injustice: and it would be still the more wicked and injurious to do so, where one hath no room for suspicion.

But, with respect to the abilities of those who were concerned in this affair, I cannot, I must own, discover wherein they are deficient; and, as we are to judge of every man's knowledge and understanding by his actions, I think we may pronounce them to be equal to the undertaking, if they have acquitted themselves well in the management of it. Indeed, a man may sometimes know a great deal more than we can discover from his conduct; for all our guilt proceeds from our acting in contradiction to our knowledge: but I think it impossible for any man to act more wisely than his understanding enables him to do, unless it be by the advice of others, which still supposes that somebody must be endued with knowledge. Nor were they under any absolute necessity of huddling up a peace at any rate, but they were at full liberty

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to act as they thought it most to consist with the interest of their country : there were the same supplies at their service which had been so liberally granted during the whole course of the late war ; only, it must be allowed, that the nation was somewhat more exhausted, although very far from being in so bad a condition as is commonly imagined : we were, indeed, more deficient in men than any other article, but we were not quite put to our last shift ; for means might have been found out to carry on the war a few years longer, if the national interest had been at stake. But I have sufficiently proved, I think, that peace, if granted upon a solid footing, is always preferable to war ; and, consequently, if it appears that this lately concluded bids fair for producing the advantages expected from a good peace, it must be allowed, that the ministry have consulted the national interest in the best manner : and, if we consider that the peace of Utrecht lasted twenty-six years and upwards, we may, by comparing that with this lately concluded, see how much the ballance will be in favour of the latter, and from thence deduce the probable duration of it : and, upon such a state of the case, it will be found, I actually believe, to bid fair for, at least, two hundred years continuance. But I think that a compound ratio should take place in this calculation ; however, I chuse to make good allowance. Indeed I do not flatter myself that it will last one fourth of that time ; but I could say this, from a moral certainty, that neither the French, nor any other power, will ever be able to do us much injury, if we are properly vigilant and active ; and that too, in a great measure, on account of the advantages which we may derive from the late peace.

I shall now proceed to examine, whether the choice that was made of acquisitions to be retained was the most eligible and advantageous for the nation that could have been fixed upon. For this purpose, an invariable regard must be had to the general observations I have already made; or, rather, to those unalterable maxims, which are equally interesting to the well-being of all communities; that the strength and opulence of a nation, I mean, entirely consists in the multitude of its people, and in the extent of its agriculture and commerce. It will follow then, that those acquisitions, which would chiefly contribute for these purposes, were the most eligible and advantageous to be retained; and, on the contrary, that those which appeared least conducive for these ends were the first to be surrendered. There is still another consideration, of equal weight, which should engage the attention of those who are employed in negotiating a peace; and that is, that no place be given up, the surrender whereof is likely to endanger the continuance of the future peace and tranquility. This is so weighty a consideration, that, I think, it should give way to none; for no blessings can be properly enjoyed if a nation is perpetually harrassed with war.

The conquests we had made in Europe consisted only of the little island of Belle-isle, which was ceded in lieu of Minorca. Belle-isle could be of little or no advantage to us, either in time of peace or war; but Minorca may be so, in some measure, at all times, although I am very far from thinking that it is of so much importance as was represented when it was taken by the French; for, if it really had been so, we would have heard the loss of it regretted by our merchants much oftener than we have during the war. It must, however,  
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be allowed to be an object worth our attention, and that the preference given to it before Belle-isle was altogether right and judicious.

Indeed, with respect to what the French had to restore to us, in any other quarter, as an equivalent for the cessions made on our part, I think, they are scarce worth mentioning. I am, notwithstanding, of opinion, that the peace lately concluded with them is much preferable to a state of perpetual war, for they might have been a great deal more troublesome to us than the Moors are to their neighbours the Spaniards. But, if this be not true, I would advise the several companies of merchants in London, and other parts of the kingdom, to petition his majesty for leave to carry on war against them without intermission, at their own proper costs and charges, provided they shall first of all prove, that such a conduct would be agreeable to justice and humanity. I think, likewise, that there should be some exception made to their taking off men from our manufactories; for, as things now are, we cannot do very well without them.

In Africa, the only thing restored to the French is the little island of Goree; which, on account of their demand in the sugar islands for negro slaves, will be of some service to them: however, our ministry wisely took care to mark out their property for them here with the same distinction as they have done every where else, as far as it was in their power, in order the better to remove all future occasion for quarrels concerning limits and boundaries. I cannot think that this place would have been of any great importance to us, as we are in possession of Senegal, although it might have been convenient for us; for the distance between both places is not so considerable as to render the retention of it

it of such mighty importance : but, if it be al-  
 ledged, that it would have been convenient for us  
 on account of its vicinity to our settlement on the  
 continent, I allow it might be so; but we could  
 not, it seems, keep every thing. However, I do  
 not expect that we shall hear any more of it so long  
 as we are at peace with our neighbours. There  
 are some people, I know, who are ever fond of  
 magnifying every thing that is ceded or given up,  
 altho', when all things are considered, the expence  
 of keeping it may be equal, if not superior, to the  
 advantages to be derived from it : but I chuse to  
 leave these keen disputants and eternal cavillers to  
 please themselves, and to argue the island of Goree  
 into a magnitude equal to that of Great-Britain. It  
 is needless for me to make long and tedious com-  
 ments upon the advantages which we may derive  
 from our possession of Senegal, as the trading part  
 of the nation are by no means ignorant of them.

If we consider the condition of our settlements  
 in the East-Indies before the commencement of  
 the war, and compare it with the present state of  
 them, I verily think that we shall be forced to ac-  
 knowledge the latter to be so vastly superior to the  
 former as scarcely to admit of a comparison, not-  
 withstanding the cessions we have made there. We  
 were in no small danger of being totally rooted out  
 from that quarter of the world at that period, but  
 we are now in a much better condition than ever  
 since the first establishment of these colonies : and,  
 if ever war breaks out there, it must be entirely  
 owing to the negligence of our ministry, or that of  
 the East-India company, and not to any cessions  
 that we have made to the French, or to any un-  
 guarded or ambiguous expressions in the articles of  
 the treaty. While Pondicherry, and all their other  
 factories remain in their present condition, garri-  
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soned only with a few men for the preservation of the police; and, more especially since the number of these factories, or comptoirs, is limited, it will be impossible for them to be in a capacity either to offer violence to their neighbours, or to defend themselves, if any number of forces is brought against them. If they are suffered to build forts, to garrison them at their own discretion, or to send a powerful squadron into those seas, indeed they may again, perhaps, become not only troublesome but formidable to us; but, if ever that happens, it must be entirely the effect of our own negligence, and what no treaties can guard against; for, had they been altogether supplanted from that quarter, they might become, in a few years, daring enough to make fresh attempts to re-establish themselves there; and might, undoubtedly, succeed, if our vigilance did not prevent them. Indeed, we may as well think of rooting out and abolishing, not only the French, but likewise every other nation throughout the known world, from off the face of the earth, as of removing every possibility of molestation, or of a future war. It is our vigilance and care, under Providence, that must secure the continuance of our tranquility, and protect us from encroachments. The end of war is fully answered when the aggressor is rendered incapable to offer any future violence, upon the supposition that the conqueror is constantly upon his guard; for, if this be neglected, although his former enemy may not rise up against him, yet others will certainly do so, if they have any prospect of advantage; and the best way to deal with mankind is always to guard against their machinations and devices, and thereby to put it out of their power to hurt us, or, at least, to ruin us.

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Therefore I think, upon the whole, that we have nothing to fear from the present condition of the French in the East-Indies. Their trade, in that quarter, will never become so extensive as it hath been, if we are not greatly wanting to ourselves, and suffer them to make encroachments : but all attempts of this kind ought to be suppressed no sooner than discovered ; for this alone can render a peace, upon any terms, durable and lasting.

I shall conclude these cursory remarks with an examination of the present state of our affairs in America, and the islands pertaining to that continent. It is well known that the insolence and encroachments of the French in these parts was the original cause of the war ; and, if I had a little more time upon my hands, I could easily prove, that it was entirely occasioned by the negligence and remissness of the British ministry : but sometimes it so happens, that good comes out of evil ; which, I think, is partly visible in the case before us : for, if the French had prudently restrained their insolence for ten or twenty years longer, they would probably have so thoroughly established themselves in America as to put it out of the power of the English, or any other nation, to root them out : and, had our ministry been vigorous enough to curb and restrain their encroachments at first, they very possibly would have been a great deal more moderate, and would have proceeded with caution ; and they did not want sufficient extent of ground to enlarge their colonies, which might have been so planted and fortified in the space of twenty years, as to become altogether impregnable : but their impatience proceeded from an apprehension that we should do the same, and become equally formidable ; or, at least, so powerful as to cut off all hopes of expelling us.

Hence



Hence it appears very evident, that we had nothing to expect but perpetual wars with the French, while they were in possession of any part of the continent. The restless spirit of that nation hath been their ruin in America, and hath been very far from increasing their strength in Europe. They appear to be a nation of fools and rascals, for ever ambitious of vain-glory ; for they think that neither honour nor credit can be acquired but only by the extension of war and blood-shed: their politics have all along been those of Alexander or the old Romans, who, with all their pretended virtue, were the common bane of mankind. The method which Cato the Elder took to excite the senate to resolve upon the total extirpation of Carthage is well known ; and, if the contrivance was artful, the design was certainly so base, as to be altogether abominable, even in a Heathen, although of much inferior parts to Cato; for surely the sentence to extirpate a whole nation is at once bloody and dreadful. But, had the French followed the advice of some of their wiser statesmen, they might have been opulent and powerful some score degrees beyond what they are at present : for, although the generality of them is infatuated with this kind of knight-errantry, and thirst for war, yet they must be allowed to have some men of excellent understanding among them.

Had we pursued the advice of those who can see only with one eye, and consequently examine all things by halves ; or hearkened to the counsel of those who meanly sacrifice the little sense they have to their private-interest, we would have retained a couple of sugar-islands, which might have been taken from us in a fortnight's time, if we were off our guard ; and, in the room of them, would

have surrendered a vast, extensive, and fruitful continent ; which would have given the French one more chance of coming to blows with us upon the fair campaign of America, and to dispute the property of that land with us, which was once altogether in our own possession, and at our own disposal. I was often afraid, now I declare it, that some such blunder as this would have been committed ; and, if the proposals of our patriot minister had been accepted, my apprehensions would have been very just it seems : but now we have a much fairer prospect for a perpetuity of peace in that part of the world, and we may reasonably hope the butcherly and inhuman practice of scalping is at an end. Our experience of the restless disposition of the French ought to have made us, at all times, to mark out the limits of our respective possessions as distinct as possible ; and to make the sea, if we could by any means so adjust matters, the boundary of our dominions. If war should be intended only for obtaining and securing peace, the continent of America ought certainly to have been accounted the principal object of our attention in the prosecution of the late war : but, now we are possessed of it, we are no longer under any apprehension from the encroachments of an insatiable and insolent neighbour.

Indeed, to those who think that the strength and opulence of a nation consist in the multitude of her gold and silver, the sugar islands may appear, perhaps, the more valuable acquisition, because it is generally believed, I know, that they would have been a means to bring most of this kind of treasure into the kingdom ; but of that I am very doubtful, even taking things as they appear to us at present ; but, admitting it were so at this time, I am fully satisfied that many branches of trade, which we  
have

have not hitherto discovered, may be opened between the mother-country and that continent, especially if we carefully examine what commodities may be cultivated there. But, as the strength and riches of a nation entirely depend upon the multitude of hands employed therein in the several branches of agriculture and commerce, the question is, whether these ends would have been best consulted by retaining the sugar islands or the continent? A man of any humanity would not hesitate a moment to give the continent the preference, as it appears the only means to render peace stable and lasting, even though such a choice must have tended greatly to the detriment of trade. But, I know, the avarice of a great majority in the world would tempt them to look upon that as a very ridiculous argument, and not very consistent with the fashionable way of thinking; yet, be that as it may, I am content to be so far excentric in my notions of things as to allow it very considerable weight, even though I were the only one who thought so. I do not, however, think myself quite so singular in this, but that there are a great many more of my opinion: and, when I consider the pains that some have taken to mislead the ministry, and to make them believe that the sugar islands ought to have been the last thing to be relinquished; and also when I think of the precedent that was given them by Mr. P—t, the great infallible oracle of the nation; it is, in my opinion, but just to allow them to have acted upon this generous and noble principle, although I would not be thought to suppose but that they were very sensible of the advantages which we may reasonably expect to derive from the choice they have made: This I would conclude from their sage conduct and prudence upon other occasions; but, if humanity

were the only principle upon which they acted, their merit is so far from being lessened thereby, that, to the friends of mankind and virtue, it must appear infinitely superior. Indeed, their alertness and diligence in putting a stop to the progress of the war, makes me believe, that they are not altogether ashamed to acknowledge the influence of this motive: and I would farther add, that skill and foresight are perfectly consistent with the most tender humanity and benevolence; and each, I think, appears so conspicuous in the conduct of the ministry concerned in the late pacification, that posterity, when envy and faction are no more, will abundantly acknowledge it, let modern sages think what they will of the matter.

But to think that the sugar islands would have been really preferable to the continent, with respect to the improvement and increase of trade, appears to me a very great mistake. In proportion to the extension of our colonies, there will be a still larger demand for European commodities for their use; and, if proper care is taken to cultivate those commodities which the American continent will produce, we shall be able thereby to supply ourselves with variety of materials, never hitherto brought from those parts, for the extension of our home manufactories: and the hands employed in agriculture and trade upon the continent will be useful, if wanted, in time of war; whereas, on the contrary, the negro slaves which chiefly people the sugar islands, are not worth mentioning when considered in this view. The advantages to be derived from our possession of the sugar islands consist in the proportionable increase, the extension of this trade would have produced, with respect to the sailors and shipping to be employed in that service; but, by no means, from any treasure which

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it would have been a means to introduce into this kingdom, as a superfluity of it is detrimental, for the reasons already given. But our growing trade with the continent will considerably ballance this loss, and, I hope, in time, greatly exceed it. The sugar trade is, in a manner, limited, and they can cultivate no more than what a few small islands will produce, nor any more than what there will be a demand for in Europe: but the advantages to be derived from the continent will be almost endless. Besides, if not upwards of one third part of Jamaica is cultivated, as is commonly said, very considerable improvements may be made there; and we have an equal right with the French to supply European nations with sugars, or such other commodities as that island will produce: and, as we are possessed of the sole right of supplying our extensive colonies with these commodities, it must occasion an immense increase of trade upon that score; but this trade will not furnish employment for any great number of hands, by reason of the vicinity of the islands to the continent.

If monopolies are prejudicial, as they certainly are, to trade in general, I cannot think it so very desirable that the sugar islands should be entirely engrossed by any one power; for emulation is always productive of improvements and increase in trade as well as in other things; and, if so, the common good of mankind is best consulted where there is room for emulation: but the planters themselves would, perhaps, in time, come to rival each other in the extension of this trade; but it is very probable that it would have been a considerable time before this would have been the case: but, be that as it may, one would certainly chuse to retain them if possible; yet, as circumstances then were, these islands, I think, were the most eligible sacrifice of any that we could have made.

But

But it should be more particularly observed, with respect to the continent, that all manner of culture, and every other business relative to it, will uniformly tend to bring up useful subjects for his majesty's service, who will be as much at his command as those of the mother-country. If they are wanted in any future wars, they will be extremely proper to be employed in all operations necessary to be carried on in that part of the world, and may be sent upon any other services where their assistance shall be wanted. I think it a kind of maxim in politics, that that nation is best circumstanced, whose internal strength and situation set her most above the reach of injury from her neighbours, and best enable her to defend herself when attacked; and, in this view, the entire possession of the continent will appear to give us infinitely the advantage. It is true excess of power becomes pernicious when abused, and is perhaps too apt to intoxicate a people and to hurry them in pursuit of fresh adventures; but we have the least of any power in the world to fear from this circumstance, as any addition to our empire in Europe would be only a means to ruin us, and, consequently, above all things, to be avoided.

The apprehension that America would the sooner throw off the yoke of her mother-country, on account of the whole continent's being in the possession of one power only, was urged by many as an argument for continuing the French in the possession of a part of it. Indeed I do not know but this reasoning may have some truth in it, and I agree that this might, very possibly, be a means to prevent them from venturing upon such a step quite so early; yet it must be evident to every man, that, to subject them to perpetual wars, which jarring interests would always have brought upon

upon them, would be very far from tending to promote the common good of mankind ; for a nation can neither be civilized nor cultivated, which lives in daily apprehension of being plundered by wars of all the improvements it hath made. Besides, I do not think that there is so much room to fear that our colonies will revolt so soon as is commonly imagined, especially if they are governed with prudence. If we consider the length of time that will be required for the several people of that vast continent to blend and incorporate, and all the other disadvantages which they now lie under, I cannot think that they will be in a capacity to attempt such a thing for, at least, five or six hundred years to come : for, if they are divided among themselves, it will be very easy to keep them in subjection ; and, even though they stood up for their independency, and were able to gain their point, it is more than probable that they would still chuse to trade with their mother-country, in preference to any other nation ; and, if they do so, it is all that we want of them.

Those whom we depute to preside over the several provinces of our colonies, should never be allowed to exceed the space of three years in their government ; but, after the expiration of that time, they should be invariably succeeded by others : for it would certainly contribute very much, not only to prevent abuses, but, likewise, any danger that might arise from the popularity of a governor. For the same reason, no general, nor eminent soldier, should be suffered to reside among them but for a limited time, like a Roman consul ; for they will never think of revolting if they have no leader of suitable abilities to head them. Nor should they be suffered to have any standing-armies, nor, indeed, any soldiers, but  
just

just as many as are necessary for the preservation and security of the police: and, in my humble opinion, the few grants that remain still in private hands, should be purchased by the government, allowing the proprietors some suitable and proper equivalent.

The objection that hath been made by some to the toleration of popery in Canada, is an argument which I shall leave for those to canvass who are capable of cutting a man's throat if he dares to differ from them in sentiment or opinion; for this objection can include no more; because, if any one, whether in Canada or Great-Britain, refuses subjection to his prince, or obedience to the laws of his country, he must certainly expect to be treated according to the nature of his crime; and I do not think that there will be any allowance made tho' he were a Protestant.

A share in the fishery upon the coast of Newfoundland is another cession which we have made to France; but this, as well as Guadaloupe and Martinico, is a precarious tenure when they can have no shelter from the continent. To dispossess the French of these will always be the first object of our attention in a future war; and it is possible they may come frequently into the possession of the English within the space of two hundred years. I think, however, that nothing but madness will ever drive or tempt the French to quarrel with us, especially if we are as vigilant as we should be. Indeed, I could wish that we had been able to keep the entire possession of this whole fishery to ourselves, as it is so immensely valuable on all accounts; but I think that we might easily make ourselves some amends by extending our trade with respect to those fisheries which our good neighbours, the Dutch, now, in a manner, en-  
gross



gross altogether. Nothing can be objected why we should not turn our attention this way, but only such arguments as indolence and sloth will ever be able to muster upon all occasions. "The sluggard faith," as Solomon wisely observes, "there is a lion in the way:" but we may, I think, carry the observation still farther, and say, there are ten thousand lions in the way; for what else could have made us so totally inattentive to our own interest?

The famous harbour of St. Lucia was also ceded by us; but, although it hath been greatly magnified of late, it is possible we may hear no more of it than of the loss of Port-Mahon during the war. The retention of it, however, would have been very desirable, I believe, if matters could have been accommodated otherwise. I will make this one general observation with respect to the present condition of the French; that they hold whatever they possess upon so precarious a tenure, that they are always in danger of being stripped of it, whenever a war shall break out between them and Great-Britain; and of this the French nation is undoubtedly very sensible: and I will farther add, that, if they had been still left in possession of the continent, they would have been, in a few years, as insolent as ever, and would have forced us to go through the same bloody prelude, as we have lately seen, before they could have been brought to terms of pacification.

The only thing we have ceded to the Spaniards is the Havanna; in lieu of which they have yielded Florida to us, which puts us in possession of the whole continent. They have likewise consented to desist from their pretensions to the Newfoundland fishery; which, with respect to us, is equal to a final renunciation of it; for it is to our sword, and not to the faith of treaties, however

worded or expressed, that we are to trust for the retention of what we possess. They have consented also to confirm our right of cutting logwood; and, lastly, they restored, in lieu of the same cession, all their conquests in Portugal; and, in a word, they have granted to us every thing that we could have wished for.

I shall now observe, that, with respect to the Havanna, it would have been of no advantage to us if we had retained the possession of it. I have already explained wherein the strength and opulence of a nation truly consist; namely, in the number or multitude of it's people, and the extent of it's trade and commerce. Now the Spaniards have no trade to furnish employment for a great number of hands, and are therefore poor and despicable notwithstanding their gold mines. I have also given the reason why they are so; namely, because a superfluity of this treasure is always productive of sloth and indolence in the possessor. The Havanna is so situated as to be of little or no advantage to any, but to that power only which is in possession of these mines, or of that part of America wherein they lie. It would therefore have been in no wise an object worth our keeping, considering the expences we must have been at in so doing, even though the Spaniards had consented to surrender all their other concessions to us, without requiring the restoration of this as an equivalent.

The gold mines of America will always prove the ruin of the nation to whom they belong, and will never fail to reduce it to the same wretched condition wherein we now behold the Spaniards; for the proprietors will always assume the air of gentlemen, employing a certain number of slaves and drudges in these subterranean works; but will never think of applying themselves to industry,

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whereby to earn their livelihood, as long as they are able to procure the necessaries of life otherwise. Were I to wish the French any harm, I would only wish that they were in possession of these mines, and then they would no longer think of rivalling us in manufactures and commerce.

And the few drudges that delve in these mines are fit for little or nothing else, but are perfectly useless in the time of war, and are no kind of strength to a nation. As this treasure requires but very few shipping to bring it over into Europe, so it requires also but very few hands to manufacture it afterwards : and yet their gold and silver would be of no service at all to them if they could get nothing for it ; and, were it not for that, they never would be at the trouble of digging it out of the earth : but now, as things are, it becomes a means to support them in indolence and sloth. Nor have we any reason to expect that the Spaniards will ever flourish, so long as they are in possession of South-America.

There is a fatal notion amongst us also, that the more gold and silver we have to circulate in trade, the richer we are in proportion ; but I have, I think, sufficiently confuted this error : and, in time of war, we shall want no more money than at other times, if we pay no subsidies to foreign courts ; which, I hope, we shall have more wisdom and prudence than ever to do again : and, if our money circulates amongst ourselves, a little supply of it will be sufficient to keep up our stock. And some think, that we have too much paper currency amongst us ; but this is also a mistake, if we have money enough for change when necessary ; because, since it is found very convenient in trade, and much preferable to cash upon many occasions, it is, in proportion, more useful than gold or silver,

for the purposes, I mean, for which it is wanted: and we need no more money, in cash or specie, than is requisite for the purposes for which that is also wanted; but the opulence of the nation is, in truth, affected neither by the one nor the other: but, if treasure doth flow in upon us, and taxes increase, as it hath happened with respect to both for this half a century past, it will sink the value of money, and increase the price of commodities, that no nation in Europe, or perhaps in the whole world, will buy them; and our soldiers also must have larger pay, otherwise they cannot live; indeed I think it is full time already to make some addition to it. The expences of house-keeping are increased, it is very well known, to very nearly the double within these last fifty years; and, if so, the pay of soldiers, as well as others, should increase in proportion; for a maintenance is certainly the least we can allow any one in recompence for his service. The increase of treasure and taxes is, however, only prejudicial in part, with respect to trade I mean, as I intend to take some future occasion to explain; but yet it is in no wise desirable or advantageous.

I shall conclude the whole with observing, that the objects, wherein the strength and opulence, as well as the security, of a nation consist, were invariably consulted in every article of the late peace; which every one will easily perceive, that considers and examines it in the same dispassionate and impartial manner as I have done.

As no one is a stranger to the conditions of peace offered to France by Mr. P—t, I shall desire my reader, for his own satisfaction, to compare those conditions with the peace lately concluded. He is to remember, that the only additional acquisition we had made upon France was Marti-  
nico;



nico; for no other advantages we had obtained over it are worth mentioning: and yet, if we consider the advantages we have secured to ourselves upon the score of that one island, such as the retention of Louisiana, the final determination of all matters relative to our affairs in the East-Indies, and every other additional cession made to us on the part of France; we may venture to affirm, that all these advantages added together constitute the peace lately concluded, more than twice better than those conditions offered by Mr. P—t: but, notwithstanding these advantages, heightened as they are by every desirable cession on the part of Spain, the minister, through whose wisdom and resolution they were obtained, was publicly abused, and represented as no better than a traitor to his country; while Mr. P—t was extolled like another Cicero. Will posterity believe it! But can any be surprised, my countrymen, that the eloquence of a P—t, for nothing is more dangerous than eloquence when abused, can rob you of your senses, when the cant and jargon of a Whitfield can make you stark mad!

I think it a sort of scandal to human nature that so many should suffer themselves to be so far robbed of the use of their rational faculties, as to yield themselves up altogether to passion or prejudice, and to be imposed upon by the artifices of designing men. Every one who hath any regard for his own dignity, as a reasonable being, should endeavour to rescue himself from the shackles of prejudice, and not suffer himself to remain all his life-time in a state of childhood: for, as children act, right or wrong, as they are taught, hardly differing from meer machines; so every one that suffers himself to be made the tool of party, acts entirely as if he had no organs to hear or see, or intellects to understand.

It is great pity that so respectable a body of people as the city of London should always continue in a state of childhood, and be for ever delighted to go staggering in leading-strings, venturing to regulate their conduct by no other rule but the politics of a Monitor or a North-Briton. The Athenian infatuation will never be extinct while there is an Englishman in the world. Even Socrates himself did not escape the fury of that inconstant and turbulent people; they banished and condemned their wisest statesmen and greatest generals; but differed in this from the English, that they had the honesty and candour to recall or absolve them when their passion had subsided, and when their eyes were opened to discover their own madness and phrensy.

It is allowed by all men, that, to conquer one's self is the greatest of all conquests; and this consists partly in an acknowledgment of our guilt, and partly in a proper amendment of our conduct; but in both these united, this generous conquest appears compleat and perfect. Some little allowances ought certainly to be made for the sallies of passion, as no one is altogether free from them; but to persevere in our error, and in accumulating our guilt by so doing, is truly diabolical. That one man should resolve to make himself known by his villainy is indeed both monstrous and abominable; but, that a whole nation should retaliate good with evil, and persecute one of her greatest benefactors only for being so, is certainly an indelible shame and altogether unpardonable.

I shall take my leave of my candid and good-natured reader, with observing to him, according to the example given me by many of my worthy and learned predecessors, that he might have expected a more methodical arrangement of the subject-matter

ter of this little production, if it had not been for the hurry and precipitation with which it was brought forth and prepared for the press. I am not, however, so unreasonable as to desire or imagine, that any allowance should be made by him, with all his *candour and good-nature*, upon that account; and therefore would advise him to pull it all to pieces, and put it together again if he chuses it, or he may write a large folio either in vindication or confutation of it, just as he thinks it agrees best with his constitution, or according to what time of the moon it is; by the influence of which, it is thought, many of my well-meaning countrymen are considerably affected.

## F I N I S.

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The reader is desired carefully to attend to the following Errata, and correct them, as the author could not conveniently revise the sheets before the whole was printed off.

## E R R A T A.

PAGE 10, line 34, for *disapproved* read *disproved*: page 11, lines 19, 20, 21, for *besides which they might have invented a great many more dark stories, wherby they would have easily furnished themselves*, read, *besides which they might have invented a great many more dark stories of the same nature; they might thereby have easily furnished themselves*: page 13, line 9, between *for* and *women* insert *the*: page 14, line 30, between *made* and *argument* insert *an*: page 20, line 26, for *his throne* read *the throne*: page 24, line 21, for *could* read *would*: page 38, line 35, between *observe* and *the* insert *that*: page 40, line 30, for *in* read *into*: page 41, line 34, for *emloyed* read *employed*: page 55, line 17, for *condition* read *conditions*: page 55, line 31, between *than* and *original* insert *an*: page 77, line 28, for *passed* read *past*: page 91, line 32, for *potasi* read *patosi*: page 99, line 8, for *nation* read *notion*: page 102, line 13, for *succesſion* read *secession*: page 107, line 12, for *business* read *act*: page 145, line 7, between the words *appear* and *to be*, insert *to me*.

N. B. There are, besides these, some few more inaccuracies, which the ingenious reader will readily discover.











